HISTORY OF MEXICO:

HER CIVIL WARS,

AND

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ANNALS:

FROM

THE PERIOD OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST:

1520, TO THE PRESENT TIME, 1847:

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES,

ITS CAUSES AND MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS.

BY PHILIP YOUNG, M. D.

"BELLA INTESTINA, CÆDES, RAPINÆ, DISCORDIA."

"It is ordained, in the eternal constitution of things, that people of intemperate minds can never be free. Their passions forge their fetters."—*Burke.*

CONTINUED TO THE TREATY OF PEACE, 1848,

BY GEORGE C. FURBER, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "TWELVE MONTHS VOLUNTEER."

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RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

TO

MAJOR GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR,

OF

THE AMERICAN ARMY.

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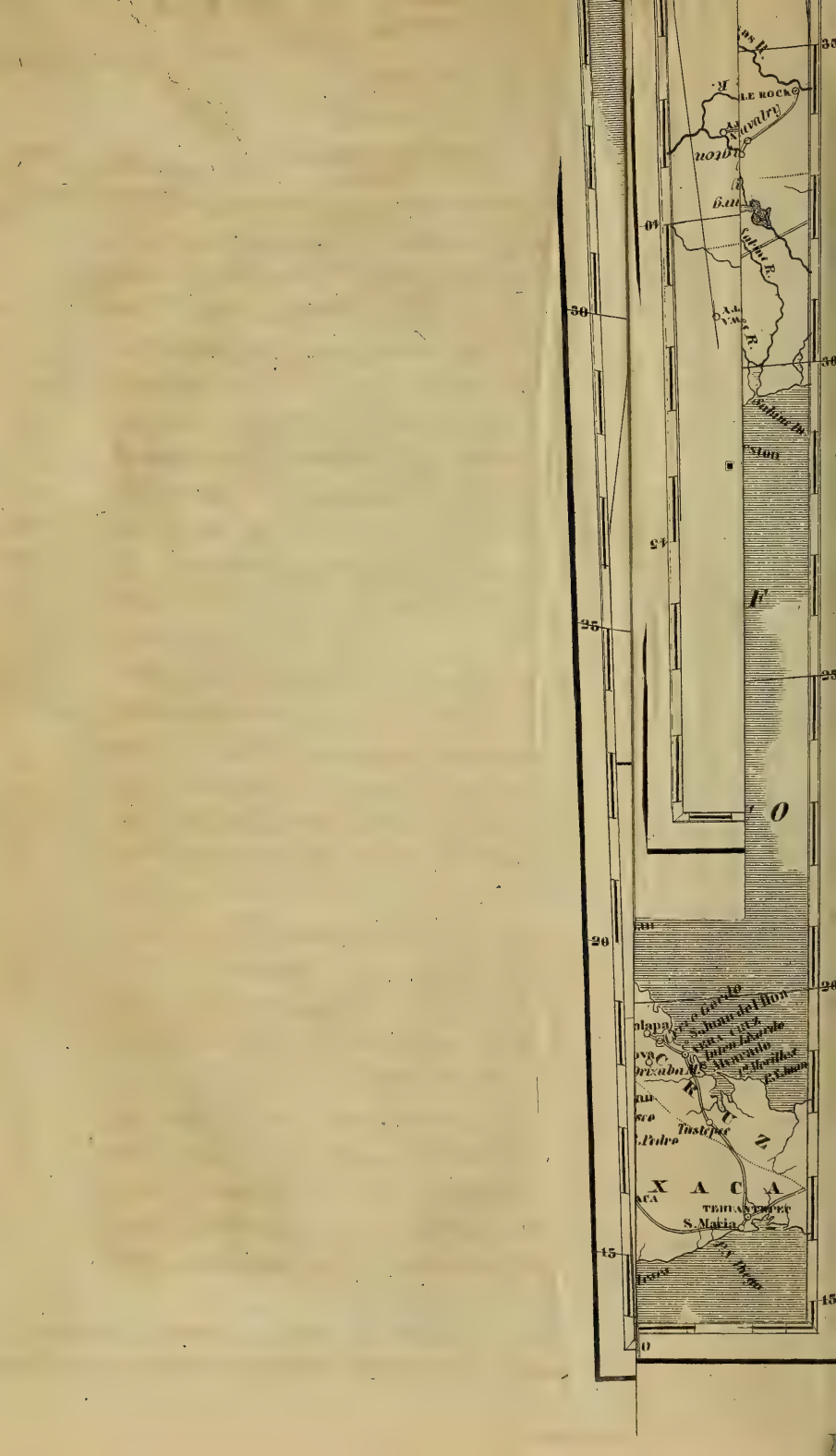
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INTRODUCTION.

That portion of the continent of North America formerly known as the Viceroyalty of New Spain, extended from the 16th to the 42d parallel of north latitude.* It was bounded on the east by Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico; on the west, by the Pacific Ocean; on the north, by the territory of the United States, and on the south, by Guatimala and the Pacific. This vast country embraced within its limits every variety of soil, climate, and productions; but was sadly deficient in population, the principal element upon which nations build their hopes of greatness.

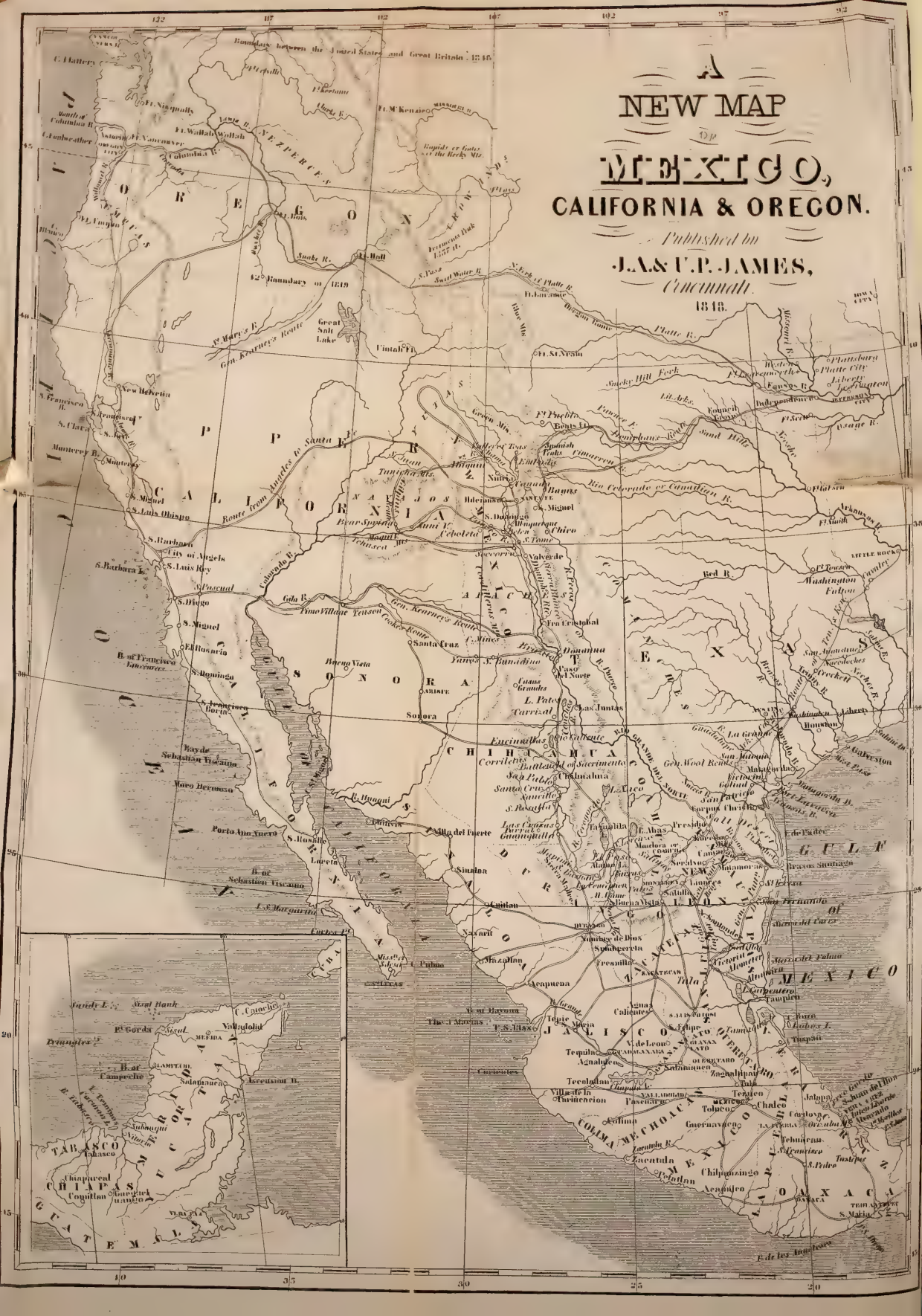
The Peruvian Andes, concentrating themselves at the Isthmus of Darien, gradually expand as they advance towards the north, until their ridges spread out into great plains, which are called table lands. These plateaus are elevated from 6000 to 8500 feet above

* Before the treaty of 1819, the Spaniards claimed the whole territory to the north of this line.


LE ROCK
Calibre R.
Tustepec
S. Maria
X A C A
TEHUANTEPEC
Rio Negro
30
25
20
15

the level of the adjacent seas; and from their surface spring volcanic peaks which piercing the clouds, are covered with perpetual snow; the height of their summits varying from 13,400 to 17,500 feet. The Mexican Cordillera, passing in a northerly direction, takes the name of Sierra Madre, and beyond Guanajuato divides into three great chains which traverse the country in different directions. The central branch runs through the departments of Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua, and New Mexico, where it joins the southern extremity of the Rocky Mountains. In this chain rise the head waters of the Rio Grande which flows into the Mexican gulf, and those of the Rio Gila, which empty into the Sea of Cortes. The western arm of the Sierra Madre, advancing toward the north-west, passes through Guadalaxara, Sonora, and Sinaloa, and forms the eastern barrier of Upper California. The eastern chain, traversing San Luis Potosi and New Leon, disappears in the hills of Coahuila. These mountains are composed of porphyritic rock, interspersed with granite, basalt, amygdaloid, trap, hornblende, gypsum, and limestone. They abound in rich veins of gold, silver, zinc, copper, and mercury. Iron ore also exists, but the scarcity of fuel prevents its manufacture.

The table lands are for a great part of the year above the clouds, and during the dry season they present a parched, dusty, arid appearance, nearly destitute of trees; yet the soil is extremely fertile, and where water can be procured to irrigate the land,


A
NEW MAP
OF
MEXICO,
CALIFORNIA & OREGON.
Published by
J.A.& U.P. JAMES,
Cincinnati.
1846.
Boundary between the United States and Great Britain 1846
Boundary in 1819
Route from Angeles to Santa Fe
Gen. Kearney's Route
Oregon Trail
Fremont's Route
Gila R.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Platte R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Great Salt Lake
Vintah Mts.
Green Mts.
Rocky Mts.
Sierra Madre
Sierra Nevada
Bear Mts.
Tunicha Mts.
Sierra Gorda
Cumbre Pass
Puerto Malo
Valley of Texas
Spanish Peaks
Cimarron
Raynos
Rio Colorado or Canadian R.
Bed R.
Washington
Fulton
Little Rock
Nacogdoches
Crockett
Houston
Galveston
Brazos
Guadalupe R.
Nueces R.
Rio Grande
Gulf of California
Gulf of Mexico
Lower California
Upper California
New Mexico
Sonora
Chihuahua
Durango
Coahuila
Tamaulipas
Nuevo Leon
Zacatecas
Jalisco
Michoacan
Colima
Mexico
Oaxaca
Chiapas
Tabasco
Yucatan
Guatemala
Campeche
Sonora
Santa Cruz
Tucson
Buena Vista
Chihuahua
Monterey
Saltillo
Matamoras
Brazos Santiago
Presidio
Laredo
Victoria
Tampico
Mier
Guadalajara
Tepic
Mazatlan
Acapulco
Vera Cruz
Tehuacan
Puebla
Chapultepec
Toluca
Cuernavaca
Tasco
Chilpancingo
Tehuantepec
Sierra Madre
Sierra Nevada
Rio Grande
Rio Colorado
Rio Gila
Rio Bravo del Norte
Rio Nazas
Rio Aguanaval
Rio Lerma
Rio Mexicano
Rio Panuco
Rio Tamesi
Rio Alvarado
Rio Papaloapan
Rio Coatzacoalcos
Rio Grijalva
Rio Usumacinta
Rio Tabasco
Rio Chiapa
Rio Motagua
Rio Hondo
Rio Candelaria
Rio Champoton
Rio Tulijah
Rio Copan
Rio Ulua
Rio Segovia
Rio Aguan
Rio Tinto
Rio Wanks
Rio Coco
Rio Grande
Rio Escondido
Rio Chagres
Rio Atrato
Rio Magdalena
Rio Cauca
Rio Sinu
Rio Zulia
Rio Lempa
Rio Paz
Rio Suchiate
Rio Tehuantepec
Rio Verde
Rio Ometepec
Rio Papagayo
Rio Nicoya
Rio Tempisque
Rio Grande de Nicaragua
Rio San Juan
Rio Frio
Rio Sarapiqui
Rio Reventazon
Rio Pacuare
Rio Matina
Rio Tortuguero
Rio Chirripo
Rio Coto
Rio Diquis
Rio Chiriqui
Rio Tabasara
Rio Santa Maria
Rio Chagres
Rio Trinidad
Rio Cobre
Rio Nombre de Dios
Rio Bueno
Rio Negro
Rio Hicacos
Rio Canasi
Rio Cauto
Rio Salado
Rio Sagua la Grande
Rio Sagua la Chica
Rio Yaguajay
Rio Jatibonico
Rio Zaza
Rio Agabama
Rio Tuinucu
Rio Caonao
Rio Hatibonico
Rio Guaurabo
Rio Almendares
Rio Mayabeque
Rio Matanzas
Rio Canimar
Rio Yumuri
Rio Hanabana
Rio Jaruco
Rio Guanabacoa
Rio Quibu
Rio Cayajabos
Rio Mantua
Rio Cuyaguateje
Rio Hondo
Rio Bueno
Rio Negro
Rio Hicacos
Rio Canasi
Rio Cauto
Rio Salado
Rio Sagua la Grande
Rio Sagua la Chica
Rio Yaguajay
Rio Jatibonico
Rio Zaza
Rio Agabama
Rio Tuinucu
Rio Caonao
Rio Hatibonico
Rio Guaurabo
Rio Almendares
Rio Mayabeque
Rio Matanzas
Rio Canimar
Rio Yumuri
Rio Hanabana
Rio Jaruco
Rio Guanabacoa
Rio Quibu
Rio Cayajabos
Rio Mantua
Rio Cuyaguateje

it yields a most luxuriant harvest. In tropical Mexico the rivers are small and confined within high, narrow banks, which are overflowed during the rainy season. This is also the case with the rivers of Texas.* The wet season begins in June or July, and continues until September or October. These genial showers are accompanied by the evolution of vast quantities of electrical fluid, attended with terrific peals of thunder. They commence upon the eastern declivity of the Cordillera, and following the direction of the trade winds pass from east to west; the rain falling ten or fifteen days earlier at Vera Cruz, than at the city of Mexico.†

The departments of Yucatan, Chiapas, a portion of Tobasco, Vera Cruz, Mechoacan, Jalisco, Oaxaca, Puebla, and Mexico, are situated within the regions called Tierras Calientes (hot lands), and produce in abundance every variety of tropical vegetation. Sugar, cotton, rice, cocoa, cochineal, indigo, vanilla, oranges, lemons, grapes, pineapples, yams, and various odoriferous and medicinal gums, grow with a rapidity and luxuriance unknown in other portions of the country. Along the coasts, and in the low humid valleys, where the vegetable world seems to have reached perfection, the oppressive heat, conjoined with the rapid and continuous decomposition of whole forests, generates a pestilential and mortal poison, which destroys life in a few days; even the natives

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* In Yucatan there are no rivers worthy of the name. † Humboldt.

sicken and die if they expose themselves, at certain periods, to the influence of these noxious vapors.* These districts may be likened to a vast grave covered with flowers, beautiful indeed, but nourished with festering corses.

The mean temperature of the Tierras Calientes is from 77° to 79° Fahrenheit; the thermometer often rising to 100° in the shade, and sometimes sinking to 61° during the winter.

At an elevation of 4000 to 5000 feet, upon the expanded ridges of the mountains, the genial warmth of spring reigns, unbroken by the hot breath of summer, or the rude blasts of winter. These delightful regions are called Tierras Templadas, and possess a climate unequalled upon the earth. The mean temperature is from 68° to 70° of Fahrenheit, the variation being about ten degrees during the year. The productions of the temperate region are both abundant and various; the apple, cherry, strawberry, melons, peaches, olives, wheat, rye, tobacco,† potatoes, and maize ; the last forms the principal food of the people in union with *chili*, or red pepper, tons of which are consumed annually. Great quantities of beans are also cultivated on the table lands. Next in importance to the latter is the *maguey* (agave Americana), from which the natives distil a beverage of which they are excessively fond, called *pulque*,

* The *Vomito Prieto*, and malignant intermittents, are the common diseases.

† Tobacco is a government monopoly.

and a still stronger liquor, (aguardiente,) which is used to great excess in the large cities and towns. This plant is one of the curiosities of Mexico; paper, thread, and ropes, are made of its fibres, and pins of its sharp thorns. To the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, the maguey was invaluable. It has been called the "vine of the Aztecs." It furnished them with medicine and even food. It is cultivated extensively, and flowers every five or ten years; it grows in any soil, and is neither injured by heat, drought, or cold. As we ascend the mountains, we reach the Tierras Frias (or cold lands), which commence at an elevation of 7200 feet above the level of the sea. The mean temperature of this region is about 60° Fahrenheit, the mercury sometimes sinking below 40°. The valley of Anahuac is situated in this zone, and is blessed with a climate resembling that of France and Italy, with an atmosphere perfectly transparent. Owing to the great elevation of the high table lands, and the diminished atmospheric pressure, the evaporation of fluids is extremely rapid, and gives to them a dry barren aspect, which detracts much from their beauty. All the productions of the temperate regions flourish in the Tierras Frias, until they rise above 8200 feet. The northern provinces of Mexico are equally as fertile as those of the interior, though they do not possess their climate.

The principal rivers of Mexico are the Rio Bravo del Norte, the Rio Santander, the Panuco, the Tobasco, Santiago, Zacatula, Culiacan, Rio Gila, and

the Colorado; but few of these streams are navigable. There are several inland lakes in Mexico; at one time nearly the whole of the central plain, or valley of Anahuac, was covered by sheets of fresh and salt water.

The principal cities of Mexico are, the capital, which is built on the site of ancient Tenochtitlan, Queretaro, Guanajuato, Valladolid of Mechoacan, Merida, Guadalaxara, Zacatecas, Durango, San Luis Potosi, Puebla, Valladolid of Yucatan, Oaxaca, Jalapa, Vera Cruz, Tampico, Acapulco, Monterey, Saltillo, Chihuahua, Mazatlan, Campeachy, and Santa Fe of New Mexico. The first fourteen, are cities which would grace any country, abounding as they do in churches, convents, and palaces, built of costly, durable materials, and in an imposing style of architecture. The great roads leading to and from the capital and chief cities are good; some of them, which were constructed by the viceroys, are magnificent.

The population of Mexico has never been accurately ascertained; it is estimated to be about eight millions and a half. Of this number, four millions are Indians, three millions or more are composed of Mestizoes, Mulattoes, Zamboes and Negroes. The smallest portion is made up of Creoles and Spaniards, who are the most intelligent, as they are the most opulent of the inhabitants of Mexico. From the latter class arise the dignitaries of the church, the commanders of the army, and the principal officers of the state; while the *castes*, and Indians are little

better than slaves, or serfs, who are bought and sold with the land they cultivate.

The Mexican churches are splendid structures, and are the depositories of immense wealth, which has been accumulating for centuries. The mass of the Mexican people are steeped in poverty, ignorance, and vice; a condition they have been brought to by the monstrous policy of their Spanish masters.

Mexico abounds in stupendous ruins and natural curiosities. Among the latter is the volcano of Jorullo, in the state of Mechoacan; which burst forth on the night of the 28th of September, 1759, from the centre of a vast plain, converting it in a few hours into a sea of burning lava, from the middle of which arose six mountains, from 1,312 to 1,640 feet above the surrounding country. The principal crater was environed by thousands of smaller ones, from which issued sulphureous vapors and subterraneous noises. Seventy-five miles north-east from the city of Mexico, is the cataract of Regla, which forces its way through a gorge, from the sides of which basaltic columns rise to the height of more than a hundred feet. These columns are composed of regular prisms of five or six sides, and resemble those of Staffa, in Scotland. There are also numerous thermal springs and extensive caves scattered through the country, portions of which seem to be hollow like a honeycomb; through which flow subterranean rivers and volcanic fires. Earthquakes sometimes, though rarely, occur in Mexico.

The architectural ruins of Mexico are among the most interesting in the world, from their extent, preservation, and the skill displayed in their construction. These singular remains are very numerous, and are found in all parts of the country, from the Isthmus to the Rio Gila. The most important of these edifices are those of Mitla, in Oaxaca, of San Juan Teotihuacan, near Otumba. The pyramids of Cholulu, and Papantla; the ruins of Xochicalco, and those of Chi-Chen, Uxmal, Zayi, Kabah, Ichmul, and Palenque in Yucatan: all of which have been described by Stephens, Meyer, Norman, Humboldt, and other travellers.

Since the revolution of 1823, Mexico has been divided into states, each of which was *then* declared to be sovereign and independent. They are as follows: Yucatan, Chiapas, Tobasco, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Mexico, Oaxaca, Guadalaxara, Mechoacan, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Colima, Zacatecas, Queretaro, Durango, New Leon, San Luis Potosi, Sinaloa, Sonora, Upper and Lower California, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Texas.

These states have since been changed into departments which are dependent upon a central consolidated government, the head of which is the supreme arbiter of the destiny of the Mexican people.

The Mexican people are a remarkable race, differing in all respects from even the mongrel nations of the southern continent. They are of a melancholy

temperament, and bear in their sad countenances the marks of much suffering. The descendant of the Aztec is peculiarly distinguished in this way; and we can see in his subdued mien, and pensive features, that he has *felt* the injuries which have been showered upon his devoted head by the bigoted, cruel, and bloody conquerors, who, not content with robbing him of his liberty, and the proceeds of his toil, have even placed a gyve upon his mind, which has doomed him to eternal, as well as temporal misery. The Mestizoes, Mulattoes, and other castes, are more gay, but less honest and brave. Some of the Creoles of Mexico are intelligent, and possess the virtues of their Castilian sires in a high degree.

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

The Origin of the Mexicans — Montezuma's Account of the History of his People — The Exodus of the Toltecs, Chichemecas, Acolhuans, and Aztecs — Their Conquest of the Valley of Anahuac — The Building of Tenochtitlan — Montezuma — His Character — His Power and Magnificence — The great Temple of Mexico — The Religion of the Aztecs.

The early history of the Mexicans, the ancestors of those who inhabited the vale of Anahuac at the period of the Spanish Conquest, is, like that of most other nations, involved in clouds of impenetrable obscurity; the slight knowledge we are in possession of, serving, like the monumental ruins scattered over the continent from Yucatan to the Rio Bravo, to excite, without gratifying, the curiosity of the inquisitive traveller; and the origin, rise, and progressive development of this singular race, must forever remain hidden from the searching eye of the historian.

It is the opinion of the learned, who have endeavored

to trace the origin of those tribes which acknowledged the sway of the warlike Montezumas, that they were descended from some of the many wandering barbarian hordes which inhabited the wilds of Eastern Asia. Humboldt advances the hypothesis, that they may have been a portion of those fierce warriors who, under the name of Huns, ravaged the plains of Europe and Asia,—at one time, threatening the destruction of the Roman empire itself; and who obtained, from the desolating character of their invasions, the terrible appellation of the "scourges of God."

After the death of their leader, the dreaded Attila, who died about the middle of the fifth century, the Huns retired to their own country, which was among those vast deserts which border upon the north of China. It is recorded, by the Celestial historians, that a portion of these Tartar tribes subsequently advanced far to the north-west, and disappeared in the wilds of Siberia; from whence they probably reached the shores of the American continent;* the passage from one coast to the other being no great enterprise, when undertaken at certain seasons of the year when the winds are favorable.

The traditions, physical organization, and written (hieroglyphic) records of the Mexicans, support the above opinion; and the advanced state of civilization, which distinguished them from the surrounding savages, can be accounted for in no other rational manner. The Mexicans have a darker skin than the Indians of the north, or than those of South America. They have more beard than any of the southern tribes, and bear a striking resemblance to the Malays of Eastern Asia.† Neither heat nor cold affects their color; the native of the Cordilleras is as swarthy as the inhabitant of the Tierra Caliente.

The account given by the ill-fated Montezuma to Cortes, of the history of his people, is as follows:

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* Humboldt. † Ibid.—De Guignes.

"It is now a long time since, by means of written records, we learned from our ancestors, that neither myself nor any of those who inhabit this region, are descended from its original inhabitants, but from strangers, who came hither from a very distant land. We have also learned, that a prince, whose vassals they were, conducted them to this country; and then returned to his native land. He came again to this region, after the lapse of much time, and found that his people had intermarried with the native inhabitants, by whom they had many children, and had built towns, in which they resided. When he desired them to return with him, they refused; nor would they acknowledge him as their sovereign. So he departed; and we have always heard that his descendants would come and conquer this land, and reduce it to subjection."*

The variety of dialects spoken in Mexico, would seem to indicate that the population was composed of many different tribes. We learn from the traditions of the Mexicans, that the Toltecs, (who were the pioneers who opened the way for the other tribes,) arrived in Anahuac, as early as the year 648.

This tribe was far advanced in the arts of civilization. They cultivated the fruitful soil, which heretofore had scarcely furnished a precarious subsistence to the original inhabitants. They planted corn and cotton; built cities, and facilitated the communication between them by means of public roads. They lived under a regular system of government, and were the builders of those immense pyramids and temples,—the remains of which are the wonder of modern times. They were skilled in the art of hieroglyphic writing, were acquainted with the use of metals, and their method of computing time was more

* Cortes' Dispatches.

complicated and perfect than that of the ancient Greeks and Romans.*

The Toltecs were followed, in 1170, by the Chichimecs, (from whom the republicans of Tlascala derived their descent,) and eight years afterwards, in 1178, the Nahuatlacs appeared in Mexico. The latter tribe was succeeded, in 1196, by the Acolhuans and Aztecs. These different tribes emigrated from the same region, spoke the same language, and were united by the ties of a common ancestry; adoring the same sanguinary deities, and living under an analogous system of government.

As the human tide rolled southward, each succeeding wave increasing the strength and renewing the energy of the invaders, the aborigines of the country withdrew from their ancient abodes; unable to resist the power of the strangers, or too wise to submit their liberties to the issue of a doubtful contest.

Having gained possession of the most beautiful and inviting portion of the continent, the invaders rapidly increased in power and in numbers. In the year 1325, the great city of Tenochtitlan was built, upon a group of small islands, in the midst of the lakes, which at that time covered nearly the whole valley of Mexico. Previous to this event, the people were governed by petty chiefs, like the savages of our own forests; after the building of the city, a monarch was elected, whose dominion, however, did not extend beyond the walls of the ancient capital.

The progress of the strangers in subjecting the surrounding territory was slow and difficult; the neighboring tribes were fierce and warlike; and it was not until the reign of Montezuma I., that the whole valley of Anahuac

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* It was identically the same as that of the Hindoos, Chinese, Thibetans, and Japanese—another evidence in favor of the Asiatic origin of these people.—Humboldt's Researches.

acknowledged their sway. He was the fifth king of the Aztecs, and rendered the name of his race terrible to the adjacent tribes. During the reigns of his successors, Ahuitzotl, Axajactl, and Montezuma II., the empire received considerable additions in territory and population.

Montezuma Xocojotzin, or the Younger, who was the ninth king of Mexico, was elected to the throne in the year 1502. He owed his elevation to his wise and virtuous conduct; and, like the monarchs of antiquity, he united in his person the sacred offices of priest and king.* This prince,—either being a tyrant by nature, or changing his disposition with his state,—no sooner found himself at the head of the empire, than he threw off that modesty and austerity which had heretofore distinguished him, and which, more than his warlike virtues, had gained him the esteem of his people. The ceremony of his investment with the supreme power, was celebrated with singular pomp and magnificence. He made war upon a neighboring tribe, for the purpose of obtaining victims to grace his coronation, and thousands of unhappy captives were sacrificed upon the altars of the bloody deities, who were supposed to preside over the destinies of the Aztec race.

His arrogance swelling with his power, he disdained to be served by the menials of the royal household, and substituted in their stead the first nobles of the empire. All the great vassals and feudatory chiefs were compelled to reside a certain time at the capital; and, in their absence, to leave their sons and kinsmen at court, as hostages for their fidelity. Six hundred of these nobles waited constantly in the spacious halls of the imperial palace; their persons clothed in the coarsest garments, and their feet bare of covering;—for the very precincts of the mansion which sheltered their prince, was deemed sacred by these barbarians, who revered their sovereign as a demigod.†

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* Clavigero. † Ibid.

Like the oriental potentates, Montezuma maintained an extensive seraglio, filled with the most beautiful and accomplished women, gathered from every quarter of his kingdom.* Upon occasions of high festivity, the monarch was served in massive plate of the purest gold, wrought with a skill worthy of the costly material. The number and variety of the dishes served for the royal repast, astonished the abstemious Spaniards, who were accustomed to a more simple fare. The dishes covered the floor of a great hall, and consisted of elaborate preparations of fish, game, and tropical fruits. Surrounded by the most beautiful women of his seraglio,—listening to strains of the softest music, which rolled in harmonious numbers through his halls, lulling his ambitious spirit to repose,—the Mexican Sardanapalus dreamed not of the impending danger,

"Which, like a pestilence, hung in the sick air,"

was ready to involve his empire and himself in one common ruin.

The Mexican empire, at the period of the Conquest, had existed one hundred and thirty years; it extended from the 14th to the 21st parallel, comprising an area of 15,000 square leagues of land,—teeming with exhaustless wealth, and warmed by the brightest of tropical suns.† The city of Tenochtitlan was worthy of being the capital of a great kingdom, and equalled the proudest cities of Spain in extent and population. It was laid out with great regularity into streets, intersected by canals, which were filled by boats from the neighboring shores. The public square was of immense size, and capable of containing fifty thousand people. The temples, royal palaces, and houses of the nobles, were built of stone; the houses of the multitude were constructed of wood, and a volcanic substance thrown from the craters of the adjoining mountains. The

* Clavigero. † Humboldt.

temple of Mexitli (the Mexican god of war,) was a stupendous structure, rising to the height of a hundred and seventy-seven feet; it was three hundred and eighteen feet square at its base, and its form was that of a truncated pyramid. This edifice was formed of earth and stone, and resembled the monuments of a forgotten people, which are found scattered throughout Asia.* Three great dykes traversed the lake, leading from the city to the mainland; they were about thirty feet in width, and opened at intervals, for the passage of boats. These openings, or canals, were covered with bridges, wide enough for ten men to ride abreast. The shores of the lakes were covered by numerous towns and villages, filled with a busy population, who maintained an active intercourse with the capital.† "Adorned with numerous temples, surrounded by water and dykes, founded on islands covered with verdure, and receiving hourly in its streets thousands of boats—the ancient Tenochtitlan must have resembled some of the cities of Holland, China, or the Delta of Lower Egypt."

The government of Mexico was purely despotic; the will of the monarch was the supreme law, from which there was no appeal. The country was divided into districts, over which presided a feudatory chief, who held his office during the pleasure of the king. The Mexicans had a regular system of police, judges, advocates and secretaries.‡ The courts administered justice, and possessed original and final jurisdiction, subject alone to the will of the sovereign.

The worst feature in the Mexican character, was the cruel and bloody superstition which pervaded the empire. It was probably the most debasing and sanguinary religious system that ever obtained the homage of mankind. The Aztec deities were devoid of a single attractive vir-

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* Humboldt. † Cortes' Dispatches. ‡ Ibid.

tue; and were only to be propitiated by the sacrifice of human victims, whose hearts were torn from their quivering bodies and thrown upon the altars drenched with so much gore.* Every street of the capital had its temple;—every house its household god, before which the deluded heathen prostrated himself in adoration.

The principal temples were crowded with a multitude of priests, who were also the instructors of the Mexican youth. These persons never married, but lived apart from the people, shut up within the walls of their several cloisters, like the monks of Spain and Italy.†

All the captives taken in war were destined to meet the fate awarded to the conquered, by their fantastic and gloomy laws, sanctioned by time and hereditary superstition. Not only prisoners taken in battle, but young boys and maidens, were also put to death; and even infants were sometimes slaughtered upon extraordinary occasions.‡ This horrible superstition prevailed throughout the nation, and even extended to the adjacent tribes, who did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Mexico; and, from the shores of the Gulf to the Pacific, the wail of victims, and the songs of the priests—celebrating the triumph of their sanguinary gods, were heard on every side. It is recorded by historians worthy of belief, that, at the dedication of the great temple, sixty-four thousand persons were sacrificed.

It is a singular fact, that the Mexicans have a tradition, ascribing their knowledge of agriculture and the arts to a white man, who landed at the head of a band of strangers from the north. He was worshiped, by the Indians, under the name of Quetzalcoatl, and was the only divinity in their calendar who was adored without bloodshed. This mysterious being is said to have abhorred their usual mode of worship, and instructed them to offer up bread, flowers, and incense. He taught them to found metals, to cut the

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*Cortes, Clavigero, Humboldt. † Cortes. ‡ Humboldt.

hardest stones, and to work in gold and silver. Everything prospered in his reign, and peace and security for once usurped the place of war. The Mexican clergy say this benevolent stranger was the Apostle St. Thomas, and declare, that at one time, the gospel was preached in this benighted land.* The Aztecs probably brought these ideas with them, from their ancient abodes in Eastern Asia; where similar legends prevail among the Tartars, who inhabit that region.†

The empire of Montezuma had reached its culminating point, when the Deity, whose laws had been outraged by the infernal rites of this people, prepared to pour upon their devoted heads the accumulated horrors that a conquered race receive from a bigoted, cruel, and vindictive foe.

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* Humboldt. † Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

HERNANDO CORTES — He lands at Vera Cruz — His Force — The Gallant Defence of the Tlascalans — The Massacre at Cholula — The Spaniards enter Tenochtitlan — The Imprisonment of Montezuma — The Expedition against Narvaez — The Revolt of the Mexicans, and the Death of Montezuma — The Retreat of the Invaders — La Noche Triste — The Battle of Otumba — The Fall of Mexico — The Cruelty of the Conquerors — Conversion of the Indians — Missionaries — Government of Mexico — Las Casas — Leyas Las Indias — Council of the Indies — Philip II. — His Policy — Decline of the Power of Spain — English Buccaneers — Ignorance of the Mexicans — Their Depravity and Superstition.

AMONG the host of adventurous spirits who followed in the tracks of Columbus, and sought in the opulent regions of the New World, that wealth and distinction denied them in the old hemisphere, was Hernan Cortes; a cavalier of no great family, whose only hope of advancement depended upon the use he made of the advantages nature had bestowed upon him. Though poor and needy, Cortes possessed a soaring and ambitious spirit, and a mind and person peculiarly suited to carry out the enterprise he was called upon to lead. An enterprise, as lofty in its conception, as it was complete in execution.

Cortes landed upon the coast of Mexico on Good Friday, in the year 1519, at the head of six hundred and seventeen men,* sixteen of whom were mounted. He had a train of cannon, consisting of ten field pieces and four falconets. With this slender force he attempted the con-

* Five hundred and eight soldiers, and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers.

quest of a country, inhabited by a brave and warlike people, governed by a prince revered by his subjects, and feared by the adjacent tribes, who trembled at his name The invaders were allowed to advance into the interior, until they entered the territory of Tlascala, when they encountered an opposition as fierce and determined, as it was unexpected. The people of Tlascala were among the bravest and most warlike nations of the continent; they defied the power of Montezuma in war, and scorned his endeavors to bring them under his sway in peace. They disputed the passage of the Spaniards at every step, defending their country with a pertinacity worthy of their reputation. And it was not until they had lost the bravest warriors of their tribe, that convinced of the superiority of the invaders, they ceased their gallant efforts.*

Cortes entered the city of Tlascala on the 16th of September, 1519, and was received as a divinity whose arms were irresistible, a child of the sun, whom it would have been impious madness to oppose with material and ordinary weapons. The Spanish soldiers were rejoiced at their victory, preceded as it had been by so many contests which seemed endless. They murmured loudly against their leader, regarding him as a madman, or to use his own words, "as a Peter Carbonero, who had brought them into dangers from which they could not escape."

Cortes succeeded in forming an alliance with the Tlascalans, which was never shaken during the war of the conquest. After remaining here for some thirty days, the Spaniards advanced to Cholula, a city six leagues distant, where they were received with all the reverence due to their supposed origin. Cholula was the holy city of Anahuac, the place of sacrifice and oblation, the favorite sanctuary of the gods. It was at this city that Cortes learned the design of the people to destroy him. Warned by his

* Cortes' Dispatches.

interpreter, Donna Marina, that the Cholulans had sacrificed six children during the night, in the great temple, and by other appearances which indicated hostility, the Spanish leader suddenly attacked the enemy and slaughtered six thousand of them; the massacre continuing for two days. On the 29th of October the invaders resumed the march toward Tenochtitlan, followed by the bravest warriors of Tlascala, who were eager to share in the anticipated struggle with their powerful enemies, the subjects of Montezuma. The conqueror was met on the road by the chiefs of the country, who complained bitterly of the tyranny of the king. This want of harmony pleased the invader, who says he applied to their condition, the words of the Evangelist, "Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be rendered desolate."

Cortes entered the city of Tenochtitlan on the 8th of November, 1519, and was received by Montezuma with emotions of reverence and fear. The Spaniards were treated with great hospitality, but as their safety depended upon the precarious favor of the Emperor, their position became one of extreme peril. In order to ensure his safety Cortes seized the person of the prince; and thenceforth he administered the government in the name of Montezuma, who was a mere tool in the hands of the crafty Spaniard. Cortes used his power to advance his own purposes, elevating and deposing such persons as were friendly or hostile to his measures. While in the full tide of his success the invader received the startling intelligence of the arrival of a formidable fleet, fitted out by his enemy Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba. Leaving his lieutenant Don Pedro de Alvarado with five hundred troops to garrison Tenochtitlan, Cortes marched with a division of seventy men toward the coast. At Cholula he was joined by Velasquez de Leon. Soon after he was reinforced by the garrison of Vera Cruz, under Juan de Sandoval, one of the bravest of his captains. Narvaez, the commander of the hostile

expedition, advanced to the city of Zempoalla, proclaiming Cortes a rebel to the king, and a presumptuous outlaw. By his subtle intrigues, and a liberal use of his gold, the conqueror corrupted the faith of the followers of Narvaez, and attacking their position during the night, defeated them, taking their leader prisoner, and eventually persuading his men to transfer their allegiance to himself. By his triumph over Narvaez, Cortes obtained an accession to his forces of one thousand Spanish soldiers. During his absence from the capital the Mexicans revolted and even threatened to destroy the garrison. Apprised of this, Cortes returned to the city with speed, and was received by Alvarado as a deliverer sent from above to his aid. Elated by his success, the Spanish leader treated the natives with increased haughtiness, and provoked their anger, already roused, by repeated injuries. The people rose upon the invaders and besieged them in their quarters, displaying an intrepidity and reckless ferocity as unexpected as it was alarming. They rushed to the very walls of the palace which sheltered the strangers, and sought their deaths "even at the cannon's mouth." Though every discharge of the artillery sent a legion to eternity, and every blow of the Spanish steel dealt a mortal wound, still they fought on, until the shades of night summoned them to repose. On the following day Cortes sallied out against the enemy, but was compelled to retreat with the loss of twelve killed and sixty wounded. Finding it impossible to contend with such overwhelming numbers, the invader caused the captive monarch to be brought before the infuriated people in the hope of quelling their wrath. Scarcely had Montezuma appeared, when he fell mortally wounded into the arms of his attendants. After the death of the royal prisoner the evacuation of Tenochtitlan became imperative. Influenced by the prediction of an astrologer who was attached to his army, Cortes appointed an hour for the retreat. On the 1st of July, 1520, at the

hour of midnight when the city was apparently wrapped in slumber, the Spaniards stole in silence from their quarters, and taking the causeway that led to Tacuba marched toward the main land. The solemn stillness which reigned throughout the city was suddenly interrupted by the shouts of an immense multitude, mingled with the sound of warlike instruments of music. The fugitives were assailed in front and rear, and upon each flank at the same moment. Crowded upon a narrow dyke, involved in darkness, their confusion prevented them from using their weapons to advantage. The struggle continued for several hours, and when the remnant of the army assembled at Tacuba, it was discovered that more than half their number had perished, or more dreadful still, had been taken prisoners by the enemy. The Spaniards lost during this melancholy night, their artillery, baggage, several horses, and two thousand of their Tlascalan allies. Retreating toward the coast, they were harassed upon the march by the Mexicans, who hung upon their rear. When they arrived upon the hills, which overlooked Otumba, the fugitives beheld an immense army, extending its lines as far as the eye could reach.* Placing himself at the head of his men, Cortes led them to the charge; after fighting with that courage which desperation alone can give, the Spaniards killed the Mexican leader, who bore the royal standard, and drove his army with great slaughter from the field. On the following day, July 8th, the invaders arrived at Tlascala, the end of their disastrous march.

After the lapse of six months, Cortes again advanced toward Mexico, at the head of five hundred and fifty infantry, forty cavalry, and nine pieces of cannon, together with an army of ten thousand Tlascalans. He began his march on the 28th of December, 1520, and captured the city of Tezcuco, built upon the shores of the lake, twenty

* Cortes.

miles from the capital. Here the Spaniards remained for months, preparing for the struggle, and waiting for the reinforcements they expected from Cuba. Having obtained possession of the lake, Cortes confined his operations to skirmishing with the Mexicans, cutting off their supplies, and annoying them whenever they appeared beyond the walls of Tenochtitlan.

On the 3d of July, 1521, the General ordered an assault upon the city; his troops eager to revenge the massacre of the previous year, rushed heedlessly onward, neglecting to secure their retreat. The Mexicans attacking them in front and rear, drove them back, with the loss of several killed and taken prisoners. Following up their victory, the enemy charged upon them with impetuous valor, and forced them to retire to their camp. That night the great temple of Mexitla was lighted up with unusual splendor, and amid the songs of barbarous triumph, the prisoners who had been captured during the day, were sacrificed upon the altars of the accursed idol. The heads of the victims were sent into all the provinces and tributary states, announcing that the god himself had proclaimed the destruction of the enemy within eight days. Cortes defeated the accomplishment of this prediction by remaining closely shut up in his camp during the specified time. When the natives discovered the fallacy of the oracle, they flocked in great numbers to the standard of the strangers, and the Spaniard soon found himself at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Indians.* Resuming their operations with increased energy, the besiegers gained possession of the suburbs, and destroying the houses as they advanced, they gradually contracted their lines so as to confine the Mexicans within a narrow circle. The provisions prepared for the support of the people were consumed, and famine followed by pestilence rendered the

* Cortes' Dispatches.

horrors of war yet more terrible. Unshaken in their resolution to defend the city to the last, they disputed every inch of ground with a constancy but seldom witnessed, opposing their naked bodies to the steel clad Spaniards, and facing death in all its forms, rather than submit their liberties to the will of a conqueror. Three-fourths of the city was in ruins, every avenue was filled with the persons of the dead or wounded, and thousands lay festering in the canals around. At length the fierce struggle terminated, and the dynasty of the Montezumas ceased to exist. The energy of barbarian valor yielded to the skill of the civilized invader; and the crimson banner of Cortes, inscribed with the motto of the earliest of Christian monarchs, "In hoc signo vinces," floated over the ruins of the once proud capital of the Mexican empire. The Spaniards exasperated by repeated disasters, and the loss of many gallant comrades in the conflicts which had varied the siege, signalized their hard won victory, by deeds of the most diabolic cruelty. Their Indian allies who had many a grievous wrong to avenge, hastened to the scene of carnage, and quenched their hatred in the blood of their detested enemies. The Mexicans emaciated with hunger, and the poison which exhaled from the dead bodies of their friends, had continued the contest with a courage heightened by despair; and it was not until the last of their monarchs, the heroic Guatimozin, had fallen into the hands of his pitiless adversaries, that they had ceased to fight. When Cortes, followed by his veterans, and fifty thousand allies, penetrated into the heart of the beleaguered city, and burned the palace of their king, they yielded to the stern decrees of fate and retired from the scene of horror, rendered yet more dismal by the mournful glare of the conflagration.

"So the rude scene did end
And darkness was the burier of the dead."

Cortes took possession of Tenochtitlan on the 13th of

August, 1521, a day long afterwards celebrated by the descendants of the conquistadors. The Spaniards soon gained possession of the whole country, the lieutenants of Cortes emulated their chief, by repeating the massacres of the capital in the provinces. The names of Juan de Sandoval, Nuno de Guzman, and Pedro Alvarado obtained an unenviable celebrity in the annals of the conquest.* Having decided upon re-building the fallen city, Cortes pressed into his service its former inhabitants, and soon beheld the towers of the new capital rising from the ruins of the old. In the year 1522, the emperor, Charles V., confirmed the conqueror in his government; who now reaped the golden harvest he had won by his daring enterprise. Following the example of the Spanish colonists in the islands, the invaders proceeded to establish the cruel system of slavery, known as *encomiendas* and *repartimienteros*, which had depopulated the fair isles of the western seas within the space of a few short years.† The Mexicans and surrounding tribes were divided among the soldiery, and forced to till the soil, moistened with the blood of their valiant kinsmen and friends. They were bought and sold, transferred from hand to hand, and thousands perished under the harsh treatment of their bigoted masters, with whom cruelty was a principle, and inhumanity a rule of action sanctioned by usage and the policy which then prevailed.‡

In order to govern the territories lately annexed to the crown, the king of Spain had established a board, known as the Council of the Indies, to which was entrusted the entire management of the colonies. This important body had been founded by Ferdinand the Catholic, as early as 1511, and was carefully fostered by his successors, who maintained its dignity, and upheld its supremacy by

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* Cortes' Dispatches. † Las Casas Relacion.
‡ Robertson—Clavigero—Humboldt.

invariably approving its decisions, right or wrong.* In this council was vested the control of the affairs pertaining to the conquered provinces in the new world; its power was paramount in all cases, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; from it all the laws and regulations governing the colonies took their rise. Before it was placed all the public and private intelligence relating to them. The council also possessed the power of appointing the officers of the crown employed in America, from the representative of the Emperor, to the lowest official; to this body the functionaries were accountable for the performance of their duties, and punished by its decrees, in case of malfeasance in office or disobedience to the laws. In all questions of litigation where the amount of property exceeded six thousand dollars, the council performed the duties of a supreme court of judicature, and its decisions were final. The king was, *ex officio*, president of the board, and always supposed to be present at its meetings. A majority of two-thirds of the councillors was necessary to obtain the sanction of the sovereign, to whom its decrees were submitted for approval.

When the trade to the colonies assumed greater importance, another tribunal was organized, called the Casa de la Contratacion, which was located at Seville, and performed the functions of a board of trade and marine court. It appointed the time when the fleets destined for the West should sail, and regulated the freight, burthen, and equipage, of all the vessels employed in the service. It was subordinate to the Council of the Indies, and its decrees were subject to the inspection of the higher authority. The Roman Pontiff, Alexander VI., in a papal Bull, issued in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the spirit of enterprise first began to develope itself, divided the undiscovered regions of the earth by an imaginary line,

* Robertson—Cortes' Dispatches.

running from pole to pole; to the east of this he gave his faithful vassals, the Portuguese, unlimited sway over all the countries they might discover. He was equally generous to the Catholic monarchs of Spain, and pledged himself to confirm the right of that power to every isle, continent and sea, which reflected their flag in the western hemisphere. This was the *magna charta* upon which the kings of Castile and Arragon founded their claims to the vast possessions, held by them in America.* These possessions were the peculiar property of the crown, held by a different tenure from those belonging to the state, and were therefore, under the absolute control of the sovereign, whose will was the supreme law of his vassals, in spiritual as well as temporal affairs; for the Pope Alexander had also granted to Ferdinand all the tithes belonging to the church, upon condition of his providing for the religious education of the aborigines. Julius II., his successor confirmed these privileges, adding to them the patronage of all the benefices, dignities, and offices, usually claimed by the Holy See, as her share of the spoil of conquered countries.† The Spanish potentates were therefore the actual heads of the church as well as the state; and their voices were potential in all matters relating to the colonies. The people were bound hand and foot to the throne, and may be said to have existed merely by the sufferance of their sovereign, who held their lives and fortunes in his grasp. The feudal system as it obtained in the new world was far more revolting in its features than in the most despotic realms of the old world, where there was at least, a sympathy between lord and serf, founded upon a community of religion and origin; both were equally white skinned, and claimed the protection of the same God. The Mexicans on the contrary were a different race from their conquerors, and clung with all the tenacity of an

* Robertson. † Robertson—Humboldt.

oppressed people, to the manners and superstitions of their ancestors; the builders of those gigantic edifices, consecrated to the sanguinary deities, they had so often propitiated with the blood of human victims. There was no bond of union between master and slave; no common ground admitting of an interchange of those feelings possessed by all who bear the likeness of their maker. Forced to dig into the bowels of the earth, in search of the precious metals, or to toil in the fields to enrich their cruel lords, the immediate descendants of the brave warriors, who had so fiercely resisted the Spanish arms, suffered more severely than their successors, for though conquered, they were not subdued, and their courage damped, but not extinguished, would at intervals blaze out and threaten the annihilation of the haughty christians. Upon such occasions self-preservation dictated a policy, that owed its origin to the first law of nature, however inhuman it may have been; the Indians were put to death whenever they revolted, and the survivors goaded on to their task with greater cruelty.* The continued recurrence of such scenes was soon apparent in the diminishing population; the country was strewn with the bodies of the murdered natives, and the mournful tragedy of the isles, was upon the eve of finding a parallel upon the continent.

At this melancholy crisis, the Indians found a preserver, in the person of the high-souled Dominican, Bartholomew de Las Casas, who had more true chivalry in his heart than Cortes and all his band, more self-denying virtue and moral courage, than all the splendid host of knights and barons, that glittered around the throne of the Emperor. The wail of the dying Indian, perishing from fatigue and famine, though heard from afar, sunk into his heart, and aroused a champion in their behalf, whose praises are sung while the lays of chivalry are forgotten, and the strong-

* Las Casas, Relacion.

holds of feudal power are mouldering in the dust. Las Casas had beheld with horror, in Hispaniola, a whole nation melt away like snow beneath the rays of the sun; an innocent happy race, one million in number, reduced in the brief space of fifteen years, to sixty thousand miserable beings. In order to prevent a repetition of the calamity, the bishop of Chiapa, announced himself the protector of the Indians, and appealed to the Emperor, the Council, and the dignitaries of the church, and all those interested in the fate of the conquered countries; pleading the cause of the unhappy victims of oppression, with all the eloquence a feeling heart and a superior intellect could produce. He composed a treatise upon the subject,* in which he boldly denies the right of the king of Spain to dispose of the lives and liberty of his Indian subjects. He disputes the formerly unquestioned power of the monarch, to make slaves of the natives of distant regions, who being without the pale of the church, were deprived of the common privileges of humanity. "This work was denounced by the Inquisition, as opposed to the declarations of St. Peter, and St. Paul, concerning the submission of serfs and vassals to their lords;" and the benevolent apostle of suffering millions, severely censured for his noble efforts in their behalf.† The exertions of Las Casas were, however, productive of much good; the Emperor, Charles V., moved by his eloquence, granted several important ordinances in their favor. The Indians were declared to be freemen, subject to the crown alone, and the conquerors were forbidden to treat them as slaves, or otherwise oppress them.‡ Commissioners were dispatched to Mexico, for the purpose of rectifying the evils complained of, and the condition of the natives was somewhat improved. The Spanish colonists found means nevertheless, to evade the

* Brevissima Relacion de la Destruyion de las Indias.

† Llorente's History of the Inquisition. ‡ Leyas de las Indias.

laws in part, and continued the system of slavery under the plea of necessity; and the laws enacted in their favor, had no other effect than to legalize the odious cruelties practiced in Mexico. By the laws of the Indies, the Encomendero, or proprietor of an estate, was obliged to reside in the district subject to his power, and to protect the vassals committed to his charge; he was also enjoined to civilize and instruct them in the duties of life. When the Spaniards began to work the rich mines of gold and silver which abounded in the country, the sufferings of the natives were truly horrible; by the law of the *Mita*, every Indian within a certain distance of a mine, was compelled to serve a definite period, under the lash of the task-master. Thousands fell victims to the labors imposed upon them; forced to descend into damp and unwholesome caverns, inspiring a pestilential atmosphere, the miserable wretches pined away and perished.* The fierce warriors of Anahuac, soon began to lose their ancient courage and energy, under the infliction of repeated injuries, and the descendants of the defenders of Tenochtitlan could scarcely be recognized in the subdued and degenerate serfs. In accordance with the spirit of the age, and the commands of the church, one of the first objects of the Emperor, in regard to the improvement of the natives of the new world, was to provide for their speedy conversion to the true faith, by sending missionaries among them from Spain. Cortes and his followers, although they were men of violence and blood, were still deeply tinctured with the religious fervor of the times. The crusading spirit of the Spanish nation was not yet extinct, and in the late contest with the Moors of Grenada, the cavaliers who followed the standard of the Conquistador into "pagan lands," had imbibed a feeling of fanaticism, which urged them to use every exertion to bring the infidels within the fold of

* Humboldt.

the church. Every soldier considered himself an apostle, whose high privilege it was, to convert the heathen, and force them to acknowledge the divinity of the holy Virgin. The moment a city was taken, these rude promulgators of christianity, rushed to the temples, overthrew the blood-stained images of paganism, cleansed the altars, and after appropriating the rich ornaments of barbaric gold to their own use, they would erect an image of the Virgin in their place; commanding the astonished natives to fall down and worship their God, who was mightier than the gods of Tenochtitlan or Cholula.*

The missionaries sent over by the king, entered upon their duties with a zeal, seldom equalled by the apostles of any faith or country. They did not pause to acquire the language of the natives, or to explain the doctrines of the church, but proceeded at once to baptize them in the name of the blessed Virgin, and to administer the holy sacrament; punishing the apostates with the infernal tortures prescribed by the Inquisition. Such was the enthusiasm of these holy fathers, that a single priest would baptize his thousands between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"Peter of Ghent, a Flemish monk, writing from Mexico in 1529, says, that himself and another missionary, had converted two hundred thousand Indians; their ordinary day's work being from eight to ten thousand souls!" Such was the industry of the monks, that a few years after the conquest, the number of proselytes amounted to four millions. But sudden conversions are seldom permanent, and it was soon discovered that the Indians had consented to accept the rites of the church, to conciliate their masters, making a reservation in favor of their own gods. So great indeed was the indifference of the Mexicans, in relation to the mysteries of religion, that the priests found it absolutely

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* Cortes' Dispatches.

necessary to permit them to retain a portion of their original superstition, and to connive at the "amalgation of holy rites, with pagan ceremonies, confounding the exalted doctrines of Christianity, with the absurd and gloomy fancies, pertaining to the Aztec mythology." Even up to the present time, the religious knowledge of the Mexicans is but scanty. "The introduction of the Romish religion," says Humboldt, "has had no other effect upon the Indians of Mexico, than to substitute new ceremonies and symbols for the rites of a sanguinary worship. Dogma has not succeeded dogma, but ceremony to ceremony. I have seen them, masked and adorned with tinkling bells, perform savage dances around the altar, while a monk of St. Francis elevated the host."*

His observations have been corroborated by subsequent inquiries; and the hideous idol of Teoyamiqui is yet held in reverence by the ignorant *peons*, and her collossal image adorned with their votive garlands.† The Inquisition was established at Mexico in 1570, by Philip II., and the first *auto-da-fe* was celebrated in the capital in 1574, in a style of magnificence, which eclipsed those of Spain. Two heretics were burnt upon the occasion, a Frenchman, and an Englishman; and eighty others subjected to various tortures.‡ It was found necessary, however, to circumscribe the power of the Inquisitors, as nearly every native in the country had become amenable to its dreaded laws, by worshiping the gods of his ancestors.

The government of Mexico was confided to a Viceroy, and the Courts of Audience, one (Audienzas reals) of which was located at the capital, and had jurisdiction over the southern portion of the kingdom; the other was at Guadalaxara, and extended its sway to the northern provinces. The members of these royal courts were

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* Humboldt's Narrative. † Bullock—Pike's Narrative.
‡ Llorente, Hist. Inq.—Meyer's Mexico.

Europeans; who were forbidden to hold lands, to marry in the colonies, or to form any attachments to the land they were sent to govern. They were ministers of justice, and all causes, civil or criminal, were disposed of by them. An appeal could be made to the Council of the Indies, and their decrees could be annulled by that powerful tribunal. The Judges of the Audiences were appointed by the Council, sometimes by the Viceroy, subject to the approval of the former. The Viceroy of Mexico enjoyed unlimited power over the lives, property, and liberty of the people. They were generally men of high rank and great influence, whose delegated authority, may be said to have exceeded that of the sovereign they represented. They had their guards of honor, lived in sumptuous palaces, attended by a multitude of servants, and never stirred abroad, unless surrounded with all the pomp and magnificence of regal splendor. The will of this potentate was the supreme law of the land, and however unjust or tyrannical he proved, the people were constrained to submit without a murmur to his arbitrary rule. The sanctuary of justice was frequently invaded by the Viceroys, and the course of law turned aside to shield a favorite from impending ruin, or to advance the interests of some pliant courtier. The successors of Cortes in the government of New Spain, pursuing the policy of the Conqueror, riveted the chains imposed upon the unhappy Indians, and connived at the cruelties practiced by their avaricious masters.

The tumult of war had scarcely ceased in the hills and valleys of Mexico, when the country was flooded with adventurers; who urged by "the accursed love of gold," deserted the dusty plains and barren mountains of Spain, and pursued their way across trackless seas, in search of the opulent regions of El Dorado. Scorning the monotonous pursuits of agriculture, these needy cavaliers explored each mountain pass, and rivulet, in the eager pursuit of the concealed treasures, locked in the bosom of the earth.

Unbounded wealth often rewarded their enterprise; and the impoverished hidalgo returned, to dazzle the eyes of the court, with his countless ingots of gold and silver. His success excited the cupidity of others, and all occupations, save that of mining, were held in contempt. The consequence was, that although the land teemed with fruits, and required but a trifling degree of labor to bring forth an hundred fold; the necessaries of life became scarce; and the mother country was called upon to supply her famishing colony with bread. This gave an impetus to the agricultural and marine interests of Spain, and laid the foundation of the greatness she attained, during the reign of Charles V., and his immediate successors. Taking advantage of the dependance of the early settlers, the king, in order to bind them in triple chains to the footstool of the throne, prohibited the manufacture of the most necessary articles, and compelled them to look to the parent state, for the comforts and luxuries of existence.* The tide of wealth that poured into Spain from the new world, exalted her above the nations of the earth, and paved the way for her ultimate degradation, by enervating her people, and exciting the ambition of her kings. Such was the demand for manufactured articles in the colonies, that the number of persons employed at Seville in weaving, exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand, who were yet unable to furnish a sufficient supply. The Spanish marine was greater than the combined fleets of Europe, and whitened the western seas with their sails, conveying the riches of the empire to and fro.

After the abdication of the wise and able Charles, in 1556, his son, the bigoted Philip, intoxicated by the vast power and resources pertaining to the crown, determined to assert the supremacy of the church, by annihilating the

* Robertson—Humboldt.

enemies of the true faith, wherever found, at home or abroad. He made war upon the four quarters of the globe, in his insane endeavor to consummate his designs. Spain was drained of her population to recruit his armies, and of her Indian wealth to support them, and soon felt the effect of the monarch's ambition, in her diminishing trade and empty coffers.* Fortunately this prince died before he had completed the ruin of his country, and was succeeded, in 1598, by his son Philip III., who, if he lacked the capacity of his sire, was also destitute of ambition. In fact, he was better fitted for an Inquisitor than a king, and signalized his reign in 1609–10, by yielding to the desires of the holy office, by expelling from his dominions, the most industrious and skilful portion of his subjects; these were the Morescoes, who retired to Africa, the home of their ancestors.† This emigration nearly ruined the manufactories of Spain, and cost her a million of her people. She was therefore obliged to curtail her operations. The earth was no longer cultivated for the want of laborers, and the most fertile parts of Andalusia and Valencia, were changed from blooming gardens into desert wastes.‡ The busy looms of Seville ceased their work, and silence and desolation reigned, where the hum of industrious thousands had so recently echoed. The mighty fleets of Spain no longer ruled the waves, her trade was interrupted, her galleons were plundered, and her flag insulted by the English buccaneers of the Spanish main. In this melancholy condition she was unable to supply the demands made upon her by the colonies for food and the essentials of life. They, too indolent or ignorant to provide for their own wants, were obliged to call to their assistance

* Watson's History of the reign of Philip II.

† Llorente.

‡ They yet remain in that desolate condition. Spain has never recovered from the shock she then received.

the enemies of their religion, the heretics of England and Holland; or perish amidst the mines of Mexico and Peru.* They possessed the golden wand of Midas coupled with its fatal power; and were often reduced to the extremity of the famous Phrygian king. The nations of western Europe, the French, English, and Dutch, responded to the call, and willingly engaged to furnish the requisite supplies; and the treasures of the Mexican El Dorado were no longer to be considered the peculiar property of kings, to be squandered in cruel and unnecessary wars; but encouraged the industry, and rewarded the toil of the frugal English and ingenious French. The energy of Spain seemed exhausted by the efforts she had made during the sixteenth century, to overawe the world and bring the nations under subjection. As the colonies increased in extent and population, the internal resources of the parent state diminished, until she was unable to provide more than a twentieth part of the productions consumed in her American possessions.† The precious metals were drained from her merchants by those of the surrounding countries, and such was the scarcity of coin, that Philip III. found it imperative to raise the nominal value of copper to that approaching silver, in order to meet the exigencies of his administration.‡ The people of Spain had moreover become demoralized, by the prodigious quantity of gold that had poured in upon them, in so copious a stream, during the reign of the Emperor and his successor. They became luxurious, effeminate, and extravagant, and forsaking the virtues of their poor but chivalric ancestors, sunk into an abyss of superstition and vice. The Inquisition, with its demon train of midnight tortures and secret murders, reared its portentous head, threatening misery upon earth, and eternal punishment hereafter, to all those who sought to enlighten their fellow creatures. Ignorance

* Robertson—Humboldt. † Robertson. ‡ Ibid.

and gloomy fanaticism pervaded the realm, and extended to the remotest corners of the colonies, crushing each noble aspiration, and extinguishing every scintillation of intelligence. And it was not until hundreds of thousands of her best subjects had perished in the dungeons or at the stake,* that Spain was able, by a mighty effort, to throw off the monstrous system.

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* Llorente.

CHAPTER III.

Colonial History Continued — The Tyranny of Spain — The Mexican Hierarchy — Its Splendor — The Inferior Clergy — Their Power — The War of 1739 — The Policy of Philip V. — The Revolt of 1778 — Proposition of the Count D'Aranda — The Provinces of Mexico — Its Population.

The early colonists who followed in the wake of the conquerors, seldom encumbered themselves with females, but formed connections with the natives, which resulted in a population of various castes, who inherited the pride of the Castilian, and the indolence of the Indian, without a single virtue pertaining to either. This mongrel race composed of every shade of color, were taught to consider the kings of Spain as the rulers of the four quarters of the globe; before whose footstool kneeled the princes and potentates of the earth, and upon whose wide extended dominions the light of day perpetually shone. In their endeavors to keep the inhabitants of the colonies in subjection, the Spanish sovereigns guarded with suspicious vigilance, every movement that had a tendency to elevate the people from the degraded position their policy had assigned them. The descendants of the original settlers were prohibited from holding offices, or participating in the administration of the country. To have been born upon the soil which nourished them, seemed to forever disqualify them from the privileges granted to the natives of Spain. The Creoles, shut out by the laws from those employments which are the usual objects of human ambition, possessed no inducements to excite them to improve their understandings, had they the opportunity of doing so; the

jealousy of the government forbidding them to attain even a moderate share of the little intelligence which served to illumine the darkness that involved the mother country. The only species of knowledge permitted to be taught in the schools, were an imperfect acquaintance with the Latin tongue, monkish theology, and the civil and ecclesiastical laws. History, the sciences, and the various arts which dignify and adorn modern society were utterly unknown to the opulent but debased Creoles of New Spain; who wasted their lives in frivolous occupations, or reveled in the gulf of vice and luxury. Every office of profit or honor was filled by Europeans; the viceroy, the judges of the Audiences, the military, revenue, and municipal authorities, were all selected from the native born Spaniards.* The dignitaries of the church, the Inquisitors and their familiars, were likewise appointed by the court of Madrid. Of the fifty viceroys who governed Mexico, but one was an American. In pursuance of her policy of rendering her colonies dependent upon herself alone, Spain absolutely prohibited all intercourse between them and other countries. By an ordinance of 1692, Charles II. made it a capital offence for a foreigner to enter the Spanish possessions without a royal permit; even Spaniards were excluded, under severe penalties of fines and confiscation, from intruding, unless by special license. By the same ordinance, vessels putting into their ports in distress, were seized as lawful prizes; condemned (in defiance of the usages of civilized nations) to be confiscated, and the crew imprisoned. The inhabitants of the different provinces were interdicted from holding intercourse with each other, and the commodities of one were never exposed for sale in the adjacent colonies.† Commerce and trade were restricted in every movement by the oppressive duties and taxes levied by the government. Nothing was bought, sold, or exchanged, without

* Humboldt—Robinson's Memoirs. † Humboldt.

being subject to a duty, called the Alcavala, which varied from fourteen to six per cent.; it was a tax upon the vender, a forfeit paid for disposing of an article to be used for the benefit of another. Its operation was most injurious, as it was a direct imposition upon the productions of the country, not governed by the wealth of the consumer. The Alcavala was of Moorish origin, and had been introduced into Spain as early as the middle of the fourteenth century by Alphonso XI. Every avenue to justice was closed to the poorer classes; none but the wealthy were able to conduct a suit at law to a successful issue, through the interminable and complicated forms of the courts; equity, under these circumstances, was out of the question, as the laws were framed to benefit the few Spanish adventurers, rather than the mass of the nation. Political offences were punished with a severity unknown in other countries; the unfortunate object of mere suspicion, being treated with the same rigor as those guilty of the most revolting crimes. The torture was frequently resorted to, in order to extort from the unhappy prisoner a confession of real or supposed crimes against the state. Imprisonment for life was a comparatively slight punishment; and when once incarcerated in the gloomy dungeons of San Juan de Ulloa or the Inquisition, the miserable captive pined in solitude, until death released him, forgotten by his contemporaries or remembered as one long since departed.* If the offender sought redress from the Council of the Indies, years elapsed before a definite answer was returned to his petition, or an effort made to repair the injury inflicted by the unjust decrees of the colonial courts. The whole system of government was one act of unparalleled outrage against the rights of humanity. The tyranny of the Viceroy and royal Audiences was closely imitated by the inferior officers, as is usually the case, the higher functionaries

* Robinson's Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

lording it over those beneath them. The Indian Alcalde was as despotic as the representative of the king, and inspired as much dread among the naked slaves over whom he ruled with an iron hand. In the latter part of his reign, Charles III. abolished the *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*, the law of the Mita and its attendant horrors.* The Indians were again declared *homines liberi*, who owed allegiance to the crown alone, but as they performed nearly all the laborious work, they continued to be considered a part of the soil upon which they lived, and from their ignorance, poverty, and degradation, were incapable of asserting the privileges guaranteed them by the royal ordinances.

Living among themselves, apart from the white population, whom they looked upon as their natural foes; the descendants of the once powerful Aztec continued to cherish the vindictive feelings inherited from his ancestors, and sighed for the ancient glory of his race, as he walked in melancholy silence among the gigantic ruins of pyramid and temple, consecrated to the religion of his fathers. The Mexican hierarchy during the Spanish domination was probably the most opulent and splendid in the world; the enthusiastic *missioneros* who had followed the conquerors from motives of disinterested piety, were soon succeeded by a swarm of monks, friars, inquisitors, and their familiars, who crossed the sea in pursuit of the objects of their own ambition, rather than to do the holy cause they had enlisted in, the service expected of them. It has been previously stated, that the Pope granted to the kings of Spain the revenues of the colonies derived from the tithes usually levied by the Romish Church; the king had also the appointing of the different dignitaries, and exercised his unusual prerogative in degrading even the religion he professed into an instrument of oppression. The clergy

* Leyas de las Indias.

were the mere tools of the monarch, and dependent upon his will, more than on the pontiff himself. Fortunately, however, the policy of the prince did not conflict with that of the priest; the political system of the former, and the theological one of the latter, were alike based upon the same pedestal of intellectual degradation. The Mexican hierarchy consisted of the Archbishop of Mexico, the Bishops of Puebla, Oaxaca, Valladolid, Yucatan, Guadalaxara, Durango, Monterey, and Sonora, whose united revenues amounted to one hundred and forty-five thousand pounds sterling. The Archbishop received of the above, twenty-seven thousand pounds. The whole number of priests, monks, and friars, was about ten thousand. In the capital there were thirty-eight convents, containing three thousand three hundred individuals.* Religious houses were founded in every part of the country within a short time after the conquest, and at a later period missions were established upon the remotest frontiers of the Vice-royalty, for the purpose of bringing the savage tribes beneath the Spanish sway. The clergy were generally natives of the parent state, and devoted to the interests of the king, the church, and the inquisition; seldom learned or gifted with superior talents, they passed their lives in criminal indulgence, or in the enjoyment of that luxurious repose, so inviting to the indolent in the sunny climes of the far south.† The ecclesiastics had not refused to become the proprietors of immense estates under the ancient system, and although individually under a vow of poverty, they managed collectively to absorb some of the most valuable property in the dependencies; upon which they too often lived, forgetful of their duties and their God.‡

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* Humboldt's Pol. Essay, Vol. I. † Rob's. Hist. America.

‡ The amount of property in munus muertus (mortmain) in Mexico, at the beginning of this century was valued at $44,500,000. Of this sum, the diocese of Mexico held $9,000,000, the diocese of Puebla $6,500,000,

The vassal of the convent or mission fared equally miserable, whether he served the monks of San Francisco, or the decayed hidalgo seeking for treasure; both were alike bigoted, avaricious, and cruel. To support the immense religious establishment, the people were taxed on every side; they were obliged to purchase a certain number of papal bulls during the year, and if a person was known to be without the Bull of Confession, he was denied the rites of absolution and extreme unction, his will was broken, and his property confiscated. Indulgences were sold publicly, and the venality and corruption of the church was equal to that of the state. While the monk of Wittemburg was eradicating the superstitions of popery, and kindling the fires of reformation in the old world, the missionaries of Charles V. were sowing the seeds of Romish faith broadcast from the Isthmus to the Gulf of California. There was one portion of the clergy, however, who were neither the tyrants of the people, nor accumulated wealth in the name of religion, to be lavished in frivolous amusements or the gratification of sensual appetites. This class was the Curas, or village priests, who contented with the moderate income derived from their parishes, which seldom exceeded one or two hundred dollars per annum, lived in obscurity amongst the humble *peons** committed to their charge. As the office was the lowest in the church, and offered no inducement to those who aspired to rank or opulence, the Curas were usually natives of the country; either Creoles or persons of mixed blood, whose natural dispositions, or the piety of their parents, had dedicated them to the holy calling. Destitute of learning themselves, they were incapable of improving the minds

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the regular clergy $2,500,000, and the different churches and monasteries $16,000,000.—HUMBOLDT.

* The Mexican serfs who live on the plantations are called peons, those who live in towns and villages are designated pueblos.

of their flocks, but contented with their position, led an easy tranquil life performing their daily round of sacred duties. From their situation this portion of the priesthood were brought in direct communication with the most oppressed and degraded part of the population, the descendants of the ancient inhabitants, or those of mixed blood, who labored upon the estates or in the mines of the nobility. The interest of the curates became identified with those of their charge, and they were looked up to with feelings of veneration and esteem. If they were maltreated by the Justicia, or the Alcalde, the serfs fled to the Cura for protection, and submitted their difficulties to his consideration, sure of finding a friend in the holy father. The power exercised by these humble churchmen over the passions, and minds of the lower classes was tremendous, and exceeded that of the Viceroy, or the other orders of the clergy; and to their influence rather than to the power of the government, may be ascribed the docility of the Mexicans under the tyrannical Spanish rule.* Among the village Curas were occasionally to be encountered, men of superior talents and indomitable energy, which required but an exciting cause for their development. From the ranks of the inferior priesthood sprang the champions of Mexican liberty, men who had passed the greater part of their lives, in ministering to the spiritual wants of a few naked Indians in some wretched pueblo. Suddenly stepping forth from their obscurity and grasping the sword, they led armies to the field; and had their intelligence been equal to their talents, victory would doubtless have crowned their efforts in the cause of human emancipation. The names of Hidalgo, Morelos, and Matamoros, are indissolubly identified with the early struggles of the patriots, and their exploits are yet remembered in the cordilleras of Mexico. During the reign of Philip V., the first Bourbon king of

* Memoir of the Bishop of Mechoacan to Charles IV.

Spain, the condition of the people in the transatlantic colonies was somewhat improved, it was even proposed to throw open the trade to all nations; the king we are told "relished the project," but the measure was violently opposed by the Council of the Indies. In the year 1739, the English government declared war against the Spaniards in consequence of the cruelties and barbarities exercised upon divers subjects, whose vessels had been seized by the Guarda Costas of the latter. The king of Spain claimed the right of searching all foreign ships sailing in the western seas; and for this purpose maintained a numerous fleet of armed vessels known as Guarda Costas. The injuries sustained by the English produced the declaration of war, in which it is set forth, that "the unjust practice of stopping, detaining, and searching ships and vessels navigating in the seas of America, is not only of the most dangerous consequence to the lawful commerce of English subjects; but also tends to interrupt and obstruct the intercourse between Europe and the colonies and plantations in America."*

The war that ensued was one of wholesale plunder upon the part of the English, and feeble and ineffectual resistance on that of Spain, whose rich galleons, ladened with the gold of the Mexican and Peruvian mines, fell an easy prey to the cupidity of their assailants. The capture of a single ship, sufficed to enrich the fortunate adventurers and satisfy the cravings of the most avaricious freebooter. The ocean swarmed with privateers under the British flag, and but a fraction of her colonial wealth reached the mother country. Spain soon became aware of the injury she sustained, and craved a termination of the hostilities she had provoked, by her iniquitous and arrogant proceedings against the rights of her gallant enemy. At the general peace between England, Spain, and France, Philip

* Extract from the Declaration of War, October 19th, 1739.

V., granted the Assiento, or privilege of supplying his colonies with negroes, to the former power, and moreover, permitted an English ship of five hundred tons, laden with the products of that country, to be annually sent to Porto Bello. By this unlooked for liberality upon the part of Spain, the veil which had covered the colonies from the time of the conquest was removed, and the agents of a free people allowed to enter the territories she had guarded with so much care. Charles III., in 1765, relaxed the prohibitory system still more, and much good resulted from his wise regulations. Enough of evil, however, remained to render the Mexicans extremely miserable; the trade of the country, as well as the government, was in the hands of natives of Spain; no Creole being allowed to engage in commerce. The cultivation of flax, hemp, tobacco, the vine, and olive, was likewise forbidden or monopolized by the government.* The Mexicans were prohibited from the use of arms, and in the northern provinces, fell before the inroads of the fierce Camanches, and Apacheras of the plains; whole districts were desolated by these hardy tribes, towns were pillaged, fields laid waste, and the defenceless inhabitants, ignorant of the use of fire-arms, were carried off to the wilderness, or perished by the lances of the truculent invaders.† Smuggling vessels also infested the coasts, which being well manned and provided with cannon, forced their way through the Guarda Costas, and landing their goods in spite of opposition, defied the efforts of the government to prevent their bold intrusions. The contrabandists were from all parts of the world, and seem to have conspired to break down the odious prohibitory system by defeating its successful operation.

This singular mode of commerce was kept up during

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* Humboldt.

† Since the disarming of the Mexicans in 1835, these same tribes have been desolating these same provinces.

the continuance of the prohibitory laws, and goods were introduced in prodigious quantities to the alarm and chagrin of the parent state. The diffusion of the comforts and luxuries of life, is not the only benefit accompanying the commerce between distant nations. A greater blessing than the mere results of mechanic art is borne upon the seas; knowledge, which to a certain extent is power, is also shed abroad upon the earth, wherever the enterprising mariner anchors his bark.

In spite therefore of the laws, the Guarda Costas, or the fear of the dreaded inquisition, the inhabitants of the colonies were slowly but surely awakening to a sense of their degradation, and the people began to question the policy of the Spanish government. Representations were made to the court of Madrid, soliciting from the king an extension of commercial privileges in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The prayers of the colonial merchants were listened to, and as Spain was rapidly losing her transatlantic trade, Charles IV., by a royal ordinance, issued 1770, opened all the ports of the mother country to the colonies. This was no inconsiderable concession upon the part of the government, and would probably have been delayed had a less amiable monarch than Charles IV. been seated on the throne.

The ordinance above mentioned, although it conciliated the higher classes among the Mexicans, did not affect the masses; who, trodden to the earth by their superiors, were still the slaves of the native nobility, and bore the yoke imposed upon them with impatience, obliging the Viceregal authority to increase the already tyrannical measures used to quell the rising spirit of insubordination. This only hastened the anticipated revolt by driving the oppressed Indians to despair.

In 1778, the people in some of the provinces took up arms against their rulers, and evinced during the brief struggle which followed, a degree of intrepidity and energy

which filled the Spaniards with alarm. The power of the government was, however, yet strong; the habit of obedience was too firmly rooted in their hearts to allow the rebels to carry on a successful conflict with their masters. Spain had not alienated the affections of the Creoles of Mexico, nor had the rural clergy yet learned to hate the lordly sensualists who governed the Mexican church. The rebellion was soon checked, the leaders put to death, and the unhappy Indians once more compelled to resume their toils, uncheered by a single hope of future happiness.

After the termination of the revolution in the United States, the Count D'Aranda foreseeing the dangers the colonies of Spain were exposed to by their contiguity to the former, proposed to the king in 1789, that he should divide Spanish America into three principalities, each to be governed by an Infante of the royal family, who should be tributary to the Spanish crown. This scheme, which might have retained the dependencies in subjection, was violently opposed by the Council of the Indies as impracticable; the true reason of their hostility being founded upon the certain destruction of their dignity, and vast power, should the proposition be adopted. The Count's proposal was abandoned without further consideration. In 1845, the project of placing an Infante of Spain upon the throne of Mexico, was again renewed, after an interval of half a century of anarchy, bloodshed, and desolation, as the only means of settling the distractions of the country, and establishing a government upon a solid and permanent basis.

Mexico had been divided in 1776, into twelve intendancies and three provinces, designated as follows: The provinces of New Mexico, Upper and Lower California, the intendancy of Durango, Sonora, and San Luis Potosi, the latter including Coahuila, San Andero, New Leon, and the country beyond the Rio Grande. These were again divided into two grand military governments, each under the command of a Captain General, who was subordinate to

the Viceroy. These territorial divisions were known as the eastern and western internal provinces. The southern part of Mexico was partitioned off into the intendancies of Zacatecas, Guadalaxara, Guanajuato, Valladolid, Mexico, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Oaxaca and Yucatan. Each of which were governed by an intendant, generally an officer of the army. The whole population of Mexico, in 1805, was computed at five million eight hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred souls, three-fourths of whom were Indians or persons of mixed blood.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The opening of the 19th Century — The Condition of France — Spain, Mexico, and Europe — The Administration of D'Urquijo — Charles IV.—Queen Louisa — The Prince of Peace — The recession of Louisiana to France by the Treaty of St. Illdephonso — Cession of the same Territory to the United States.

With the advent of the year 1800, a new era dawned upon the world; ushered in amidst the smoke and carnage of war and revolution, the century emerged like the sun from the clouds and darkness of the tempest, which had obscured its glorious rays, rendering them yet more brilliant from their temporary absence. The patriots of 1776 had thrown off the fetters of the mother country, and had compelled the haughty Britons to yield to their revolted colonies a share in the sovereignty of America. The Declaration of Independence, and the sentiments therein expressed spread over the earth with the rapidity of light, and penetrating the barriers with which the despotism of governments, and the tyranny of kings had fenced in the rights of man, taught them by precept, and a most noble example, to shake off the lethargy which for ages had bound them, the slaves to custom and hereditary wrong.

The terrific struggles of France were over. The dynasty of ages had sunk, with all its empty splendor and hollow

greatness, crushed beneath the load of crime and political iniquity, which had been accumulating for a thousand years; and from the awful desolation which succeeded its downfall, arose a structure remarkable for its simplicity and firmness. The club of the Jacobins was no more, the guillotine no longer reeked with human blood, offending heaven and earth with its gory sacrifices. The altars of a venerable but superstitious religion, though still remaining overthrown and unrespected, were not polluted by the worship of murderous ruffians of the impersonation of the ideal of reason, which, in their madness, they had sought to place upon the throne of the Omnipotent.

The destinies of France were in the keeping of one, in all things equal to the mighty task of restoring peace and order, from the chaos of anarchy and tumult, which threatened the ruin and utter extinction of one of the most polished and energetic nations of the earth. The weak and infamous directory, covered with a thousand crimes, threw itself for safety into the arms of Napoleon Bonaparte, upon whose side fortune seemed to wait, ready to crown every effort with success. From the shores of the Nile to the banks of the Rhine, the powerful genius of Bonaparte had carried all before it; the Pyramids of Egypt echoed to the thunder of his cannon, and upon the renowned fields of classic Italy he had asserted the supremacy of France.

England, which of all nations prior to the close of the eighteenth century was the most favored, in the full enjoyment of the blessings which flow from a free and national system of government, was rapidly advancing to that state of prosperity she has since attained. Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, were all awakened to a lively perception of the era which had dawned upon them. Spain alone seemed unconscious of the change which had come over the face of the earth; she seemed to sleep amidst the tumults around her, contented with the enjoyment of the slight consideration she received from her

sister states. But the corruption of ages had done its work; the throne was undermined, and ready to fall into the abyss that yawned beneath it; the energy of this once powerful and chivalric nation was paralyzed, and the proud Spaniard about to fall a prey into the hands of the invader.

"The King, the Queen of Spain, and the Prince of Peace, engaged the attention of Europe, and exhibited a spectacle dangerous for royalty, already so much lowered in the estimation of nations. One would have supposed that the illustrious house of Bourbon was destined to lose their crowns in France, Naples, and in Spain; for in these three kingdoms, three sovereigns, of imbecile weakness, had exposed their sceptres to the derision and contempt of the world, by leaving them in the hands of three queens—either giddy, violent or dissolute."* The King, Charles IV., was an honest man, but weak and vacillating; an admirable judge of horse-flesh, but a poor sovereign; an ingenious mechanist, an ardent sportsman, an indulgent husband and father, but a most ridiculous statesman. Don Manuel Godoy, absurdly called the Prince of Peace, was the virtual ruler of Spain; he was the favorite of the king, and the paramour of the wanton queen, who, for twenty years, had submitted her person, as well as her "vacant and frivolous mind," to his control. Foolish, vain, and ignorant, Godoy administered the affairs of government to suit his own selfish and depraved purposes; regardless of the honor of his prince, or the prosperity of the nation. While the treasury of the kingdom was exhausted, and forced to make shift with a depreciated paper currency, the favorite collected vast sums, which he dissipated in debaucheries of the grossest kind.†

The colonies felt the evil effects of this reckless administration more than the parent state. Every officer, from

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* Thiers' Hist., Consulate and Empire. † Ibid.

the viceroy to the humblest official, was appointed by, or subject to, the approval of the favorite. Places of profit and honor were sold to the highest bidder, or conferred upon unworthy persons, who had recommended themselves to the prince by their zeal in pandering to his licentious appetites. One would suppose, that Mexico existed merely to supply the queen and her lover with the means of gratifying their passions; and that its millions of people were engaged in rifling the earth of the precious metals in order to enrich the former with the spoils.

Taxes, duties, and exactions of all kinds, were levied upon the Mexicans, without regard to the ability of the victims to pay them; the domestic trade between the provinces languished under the infliction, and the harbors no longer resounded with the cheerful noise of a bustling population. The patriotic minister, Don Mariano Luis D' Urquijo, in vain endeavored to raise the declining greatness of his country; although equal in all respects to the duties of his station, as premier and secretary of state, his efforts were hampered by the fatal influence of the favorite. He encouraged the arts and liberal sciences, and the world owes to him a debt of gratitude, in permitting Humboldt to traverse the Spanish possessions in America, although contrary to all laws and precedent; D' Urquijo assisted the great traveller, in his enterprise, with all the zeal of one passionately attached to the advancement of human knowledge.*

With the aid of Admiral Mazarado, he revived the fallen navy of Spain; and was the first man of rank in Europe who meditated the abolition of slavery in the colonies. In 1779, he obtained a decree which restored to the crown the power which had been usurped by the church; and delivered the people from an annual impost of several millions, produced by the sale of dispensations, bulls and

* Llorente.

briefs. He did not stop here, but attempted to suppress the tribunal of the Inquisition, intending to apply its revenues to useful and charitable purposes.*

As might have been expected, this was an unpardonable error; nor did his enemies rest, until this truly great statesman was hurled from his position, and his virtues rewarded by being confined in the gloomy dungeons of Pampeluna, deprived of light, fire, and the necessaries of life.† The Mexicans felt the absence of the benign influence of his power, and the injuries they had sustained previous to his administration were renewed after his downfall.

The successors of D' Urquijo possessed neither his intelligence nor his honesty; the power of Spain continued to decline, until she became the mere shadow of her former self. The intrigues of the miserable creatures that haunted the court, shut out every patriotic or disinterested individual who ventured to approach the royal person. It was a short time previous to this, that Napoleon, whose sagacity warned him of the impossibility of retaining Egypt as a province of France, proposed to the king of Spain, that he should recede the colony of Louisiana to its original discoverers. The proposition was listened to favorably by the king, who was flattered by the attentions of the first consul, and easily fell into the snare.

General Berthier was dispatched to Madrid, with full powers to negotiate. An eventual treaty was agreed upon, at St. Illdephonso, in 1800, by which the first consul bound himself to grant an additional territory to the Duke of Parma, (the queen's nephew,) which would add a million of souls to his subjects; he also promised to give his highness the title of King of Etruria, and maintain him in his position against the combined influence of Europe.‡ In consideration of the above Spain engaged to cede to France the colony of Louisiana, with the same extent of

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* Llorente. † Ibid. ‡ Thiers' Consulate and Empire.

territory it possessed when transferred to the former by Louis XV.*

The region referred to in the treaty, comprised the whole of upper and lower Louisiana, the island of Orleans, and the country lying to the west of the Mississippi, known by the Spaniards as the Province of Texas.† The French, under La Salle, in 1685, commenced the first settlement of Louisiana, on the banks of the La Baca river. The enterprise did not succeed, and the colony was afterwards removed to the Mississippi. Yet the French continued to regard the territory on the western shores of the latter stream as their possession, and ceded it to Spain as such; their right to it being founded upon discovery and occupation. By the negotiations concluded at St. Illdephonso, the sovereignty of the whole of this region, in its original integrity, was invested in the French.‡

As the Spaniards derived not the least profit from their Louisiana colony, it was to the interest of the government to rid itself of so distant and unprofitable a dependency. The French did not retain the country thus easily acquired, but disposed of it to the United States, in 1803, for eighty millions of francs; twenty millions of which sum was to be paid as an indemnity to American citizens, for the spoliations committed on their property by the cruisers of the former on the high seas.

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* Marbois' Hist. Louisiana.

† U. S. Papers.—Livingston's Letters.

‡ Marbois' Hist. Louisiana.

CHAPTER II.

The Abdication of Charles IV. — Ferdinand VII. proclaimed King by the Mexicans — The Violent Deposition of the Viceroy of Mexico, Iturrigaray — Vanegas — His Administration — Conspiracy against the Government — Its Premature Disclosure — Padre Hidalgo — The Revolt — Capture of Celaya — The Rebels enter Guanajuato — Storming of the Alhondiga — The Sacking of the City, and Massacre of Colonel Riana and his Troops.

The brilliant successes which attended Napoleon in his career of conquest, at length produced a sensation even in Spain. The revolutionary opinions so rife throughout the world, found their way across the Pyrennees, and aroused the Spaniards from their apathy. Charles IV., incapable of resisting the storm which threatened to overwhelm him, fled to his palace at Aranjuez. His enemies now in open revolt pursued him, and surrounding his retreat, menaced him and his consort with instant death, unless he acceded to their wishes. The poor king, weak, irresolute, and destitute of a single quality which would enable him to resist the rebels, reluctantly signed his abdication on the 19th of August, 1808; and his son, Ferdinand VII., began his troubled reign upon the same memorable day.

Charles protested against the abdication; asserting that it was done through fear, in order to preserve his own life, and those of his family. The royal and supreme council of Castile ordered an examination into the validity of the act, that the people might be informed, that they were no longer the subjects of the deposed prince. Ferdinand treated the protest with contempt, and Bonaparte seizing

the moment when the Spaniards were divided among themselves, proclaimed his brother Joseph king of Spain. Ferdinand, who was then at Valence, wrote to Joseph Bonaparte, congratulating him upon his elevation, and requesting his friendship; he also commanded all of his former subjects in Spain and the colonies, to recognize the brother of Napoleon as their lawful sovereign.

This philosophic indifference on the part of Ferdinand, did not meet with the approbation of his transatlantic subjects, who were too far removed from the influence of France to be driven into a transfer of their allegiance to a stranger. The people of Mexico, as well as those of Carraccas determined to adhere to their legitimate sovereign, and accordingly proclaimed Ferdinand VII., with every demonstration of loyalty. The king secretly approved of their conduct, although he dissembled his satisfaction in public, and even ratified a decree of the Council of the Indies, commanding the Mexicans to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte as their ruler, while he covertly excited the people against that personage.*

The European Spaniards residing in Mexico, were nearly all members of the French party, designated in Spain as *Francises*. The Creoles, on the contrary, were faithful to the Bourbons, and publicly burnt the proclamations of king Joseph, and denounced his adherents as enemies to the country. During this turbulent condition of the public mind, which threatened to produce the most disastrous results, the Viceroy, Don Jose Iturrigaray, distracted by the conflicting orders he receivcd from Ferdinand, Joseph, and the Council of the Indies, resolved to summon a Junta of Notables in imitation of that of Seville. The Junta was to be composed of the Viceroy, the Archbishop of Mexico, the representatives from the municipality of the capital, the nobility, principal citizens, and the army. The hatred which existed between the

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

Creoles and European Spaniards would not admit of such an arrangement, as it was proposed to admit the Creoles upon an equality with the natives of the mother country. The Francisés determined to defeat the plan, by forcibly deposing the Viceroy. Arming themselves, the Spaniards of the capital proceeded in the dead of night, on the 15th of September, 1808, to the palace of the Viceroy, and arresting him and his family, sent them prisoners to Spain, accusing him of heresy and treason. Iturrigaray was carried to Seville, committed to a dungeon, without a trial, where he remained *three years*, until released by an act of general amnesty in 1811! This outrage excited universal indignation against the perpetrators, who were nevertheless able to retain the government in their own hands, until the arrival of Vanegas, the successor of Iturrigaray. The character of this personage was not calculated to engage the affections of the people he was sent to govern. He commenced his administration by permitting the massacre of several distinguished Creoles, and outlawed and banished many others, who had been the supporters of the late Viceroy. His cruelty increased in proportion as he felt his power over the people ; he preferred to govern by fear rather than affection. He soon became odious to the Mexicans of all ranks, and although warned of the consequences of his tyranny, he continued to exercise his power, reckless of the future. Conspiracies among an oppressed people generally precede an open revolt, which is the last resort of the slave against his master. The Creoles of New Spain, numbering in their ranks many persons of intelligence and energy, were the first to combine against the government; disappointed in obtaining a voice in the management of their country, they secretly conspired to overthrow the Viceroy, and his Franco-Spanish administration. Emissaries were sent into the provinces and principal cities, who were instructed to ascertain the disposition of the natives toward the government, and enlist

all the disaffected in the plot.* These agents were received with open arms by many persons of wealth and distinction, some of whom were members of the clergy and officers in the army, who disgusted with the cruelty and licentiousness of the Viceroy were eager to witness his downfall. The preparations of the conspirators were made with all the celerity the occasion demanded; the village curas aroused the Indians who were under their spiritual guidance, and without letting them fully into the intentions of the leaders of the plot, darkly intimated that the long delayed hour of vengeance was at hand. Finally every thing was ready for a simultaneous rising in the provinces adjoining the capital, when the revolt was hastened, and the direction of the plot changed, so as to fill those who had set it in motion with horror and dismay, by one of those unforeseen accidents which often defeat the best arranged plans. The canon Iturriaga, one of the conspirators who belonged to Valladolid, was taken suddenly ill, and feeling his end approach, he exposed the secret plot to his confessor, a priest of Queretaro, giving the names of the principal persons implicated. The priest immediately revealed the astounding intelligence to the authorities of Queretaro, who arrested the corregidor of that city, who was denounced by the canon that very night. This alarmed the plotters, who had no choice left, but speedy submission or resistance.

The Viceroy, Vanegas, thunderstruck at the intelligence conveyed to him of the existence of the conspiracy, at once proceeded to stay the progress of impending rebellion, by arresting all those who had been designated as leaders by the canon of Valladolid de Mechoacan. This accelerated the movements of the denounced, who having agents in the capital, and even in the palace itself, received timely warning of the designs of the Viceroy.

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* Robinson's Mem. Revolution of Mexico.

In the intendancy of Guanajuato, a few leagues distant from the rich city of that name, lived Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, curate of Dolores, a village or *pueblo* inhabited principally by the descendants of the original lords of Mexico. Dolores is about thirty miles north-east of Guanaxato, and in this place and the neighboring town of San Miguel el Grand, a considerable number of the disaffected resided, awaiting the signal of revolt. Vanegas ordered the arrest of Hidalgo and his associates as soon as he received the startling information from Queretaro. An express was immediately sent to the conspirators, which reaching San Miguel el Grand in safety, communicated to Don Ignacio Allende the intentions of the Viceroy; this officer commanded a small number of regular troops stationed at this point. He was implicated in the plot, and lost no time in warning the curate of the threatening danger. Every moment was precious, it was too late to fly, the only hope left them was immediate and energetic resistance. Allende persuaded his men to join the party. Hidalgo gave the expected signal for the rising; and the standard of rebellion was raised on the night of the 15th of September, 1810; being the opening scene of a bloody and revolting tragedy, which desolated the fairest portion of the new world, and turned many a smiling province into a barren waste.

It has been observed, that those political convulsions, which, under the name of revolutions, disturb the tranquillity of states, are as often the result of accident as design; the passions of men being engaged more than their prudence or their principles. Hidalgo's insurrection was of this kind;—hurried onward by mingled emotions of pride and fear, the Curate of Dolores prepared for the desperate struggle, reckless of the consequences. The Indians, over whom the priest possessed unbounded influence, flocked to the rendezvous in great numbers. Advancing to San Miguel, the rebels were joined by the soldiers under Al-

lende; from thence, they proceeded to Celaya, where they received into their ranks the garrison of that place, and an immense crowd of Indians, rudely armed with slings, clubs, and bows and arrows. The insurgents now amounted to more than twenty thousand men.

In order to stimulate his followers, Hidalgo raised the cry of "Death to the Gachupins," (Spaniards,) and the Indians, taking it in a literal sense, were impatient to give vent to their long suppressed feelings of vengeance. Their steps were tracked with blood; they murdered without remorse every Spaniard, and many Creoles that fell into their hands; and the ancient quarrel between the two races was about to be renewed. The Creoles, the greater portion of whom were decidedly opposed to the government, horror-struck at the excesses of the rebels, now found it necessary, in self-defence, to throw themselves into the ranks of the Spaniards.

Hidalgo, who, in the main, was neither blood-thirsty nor cruel, in vain attempted to control the fierce passions of his disorderly army; he had raised a storm he was unable to guide, and repented, when too late, of the error he had been guilty of, in authorizing the war-cry of his followers. He advanced, without delay, upon the city of Santa Fe de Guanajuato, the capital of the province, and one of the richest towns in Mexico. His approach filled the inhabitants with consternation. The governor of the place, Colonel Riana, shut himself up with a number of the more resolute in the Alhondiga, (a large building used as a store-house,) with an immense amount of the public treasure intrusted to his keeping.

When the rebels displayed their forces upon the hills which surround Guanajuato, and, descending, approached the gate of Marfil, the inhabitants, filled with consternation, gave up all thoughts of resistance; the garrison, placed there for the defence of the place, overawed by the superiority of the insurgents, threw down their arms

and joined the enemy. Hidalgo now summoned the governor to surrender, promising him good treatment if he complied with the demand. This offer was indignantly refused. An attack was immediately made upon the Alhondiga; it was taken by assault, and Riana, and all the Spaniards and Creoles who were with him, massacred upon the spot. The rebel chief exhausted himself in useless efforts to save them: the revengeful passions of his men could only be satisfied with the blood of their former masters. Three days were spent in sacking the opulent city, and, situated as it was in the heart of the richest mines of Mexico, the treasure which fell into the hands of the insurgents was prodigious. The precious metals were found in quantities, stored away in private dwellings, as well as in the public buildings. Every man in Hidalgo's army was laden with doubloons, dollars, and ingots of gold and silver.*

Enriched with the spoil he had taken, the leader of the rebellion paid his followers a dollar a day, and allowed his officers to help themselves from the military chest, *ad libitum*. This generous liberality failed not to increase his popularity, already great. By the sack of Guanajuato, the rebels acquired four millions of dollars. Such was the ignorance of the Indians, that they sold their doubloons for half a dollar a-piece, supposing them to be gilt medals of the Virgin of Guadaloupe, which it was customary to wear suspended from the neck, as a kind of charm.†

The success of the insurgents filled the viceroy with astonishment and alarm, while it encouraged the opponents of the government in a corresponding degree. Thousands flocked to the standard of the curate, and he soon felt powerful enough to make a demonstration upon the capital of Mexico itself. He accordingly advanced towards that city, his force augmenting in numbers every hour.

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* Robinson's Memoirs. † Ibid.

Turning aside from the direct route to Mexico, the rebels marched upon and captured the episcopal city of Valladolid de Mechoacan, one of the most important places in the viceroyalty. The spirit of revolt spread with great rapidity, and soon extended to every part of the country within fifty leagues of the capital. The Spaniards in the large cities began to tremble for their safety, and invoked the aid of the home government, to protect them from the threatened danger. At this crisis, had any man of distinction declared in favor of the insurrection, the issue of it would have doubtless been very different. But the excesses committed by the Indians disgusted the more intelligent Creoles, who, though they hated the viceregal power, were shocked at the thought of a war of extermination.

CHAPTER III.

THE Evacuation of Valladolid — The Rebel Host advances upon the Capital — The condition of the City of Mexico — The Insurgents Excommunicated — The Royalists Defeated at Las Cruces — Hidalgo Encamps in sight of the Capital — His sudden Retreat — The Battle of Aculco — Massacre at Guanajuato — The Recapture of Valladolid — Battle of the Bridge of Calderon — Capture and Death of Hidalgo.

THE rebels evacuated Valladolid about the middle of October, and continued their progress toward the capital. Halting at Indeparapeo, Hidalgo reviewed his force, which now numbered more than one hundred and ten thousand men, not a thousand of whom were armed with muskets!

On the 24th of October, Hidalgo, casting aside his sacred garments, which up to this time he had worn, appeared in the full uniform of a Spanish general, amid the acclamations of his wild and enthusiastic followers, who believed him to be under the special protection of the Virgin of Guadaloupe.* Leaving Indeparapeo, the now formidable army resumed its march toward the city of Mexico, moving slowly, and in admirable disorder. One of the greatest difficulties in bringing a large force into the field, is to furnish the necessary quantity of food for its consumption. The Mexicans are, however, the most abstemious people in the world, and this immense

* It is said, he had a small image of the Virgin which, by a mechanical contrivance, was made to nod its head, as if in approbation of his words, whenever he harangued his disorderly host of ignorant and deluded partisans, who solemnly believed it to be a veritable miracle!!

army lived luxuriously upon the fruit, which was the spontaneous growth of the country they were traversing.

On the 27th of October, the insurgents entered and took possession of Toluca, a town thirty-six miles from the capital. The Viceroy, filled with alarm at their approach, issued a proclamation, threatening all those found in arms against the government with instant death, if taken, and promising a free pardon to all who would throw down their arms and disperse. He also called to his aid the powerful influence of the clergy, to quell the rebellion; and the archbishop of Mexico excommunicated the rebels in a body, as heretics and enemies to the church and state. The inferior members of the priesthood were ordered to exercise the power they possessed through the confessional, in maintaining the cause of the Viceroy against the people But Hidalgo, being a priest himself, laughed at the spiritual thunder hurled against him, and easily convinced his followers of the impotency of a curse pronounced by a Gachupin bishop.

Vanegas, however, did not rely upon the church alone in the hour of peril, but prepared to defend the city, in case it should be attacked; adopting every means within his reach to repel the enemy. He barricaded the principal streets, and distributed arms and ammunition to the inhabitants, warning them of the awful consequences, if the infuriated Indians captured the city. His exertions were not in vain; the people were awakened to a sense of their danger, and willingly assisted in the preparations for defence.

As the rebels continued to advance, Vanegas sent out a detachment of regular troops, under Colonel Truxillo, to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to check their progress. Truxillo took up a position in the defile of Las Cruces, about twenty-four miles distant. Hidalgo, as he approached, sent him a flag, demanding a parley; the royalist refused to receive it, and even fired upon the bearer!

This so exasperated the curate, that he ordered his men to charge; an overwhelming force poured into the defile, and Truxillo was compelled to retire, with the loss of his artillery, and a number of his men killed and wounded.

The rebels followed closely at their heels; and on the 31st of October, arrived at the hacienda of Quaximalpa, on the heights of Santa Fe, a few miles from the capital, which could be seen from their position. The inhabitants and authorities of the city waited in anxious expectation for the return of Truxillo; and when he was descried hastening back, with all the diligence of a fugitive before a pursuing foe, they began to despair, and abandon all thoughts of resisting so powerful an adversary.

The Viceroy was unable to muster more than two or three thousand regular troops, whose fears rendered them incapable of a desperate defence, should the enemy advance. The European Spaniards, who are naturally a brave and loyal race, were well aware of the terrible fate which awaited them, if they fell into the hands of their pitiless foes, and were therefore determined to hold out to the last moment. The native nobility who resided in the capital, the rich landholders and proprietors of mines, were equally odious to the rebels, and trembled at the danger which threatened them; whilst the *leperos* Indians, Mulattoes, and vagabonds of all descriptions who infested the city, to the number of twenty thousand, sharpened their knives and prepared to share in the expected conflict, the spoils of both parties.

Hidalgo, instead of attacking the almost defenceless place, sent a flag to the Viceroy, demanding the surrender of the city. No answer was returned to the summons; and Vanegas encouraged by the imbecility of the rebel chief, sent emissaries into his camp, who mingling with his followers, impressed them with the impregnability of the capital to any force destitute of artillery and fire-arms. This caused the insurgents to hesitate, at the critical time

when the fate of Mexico was in their hands. The Viceroy gained his point, the hesitation so fatal to the enemy was his salvation. He hourly expected the arrival of Don Felix Maria Calleja, who was marching with a large force to the relief of the city; time was more valuable to the representative of royalty than all the gold which glittered in the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Huge and undisciplined masses of men when destined for any peculiar service, must be continually employed, else their enthusiasm wanes, and their passions lacking food declines, and leaves them spiritless and destitute of energy. It was so in this instance. Hidalgo's army, which hung like a threatening cloud upon the mountains, ready to burst and overwhelm the imperial city which lay at its base, upon a sudden was seized with a cowardly panic, and fled without striking a blow at the object of their expedition. Calleja arrived shortly after their departure, and was ordered to pursue the retreating rebels, who had taken the road to Guanajuato. The Spanish force amounted to but six thousand men, who were however, well disciplined and provided with artillery. Moving forward rapidly, Calleja came up with the fugitives at Alculco; and on the 7th of November the armies joined battle.

The Indians began the fight by charging *en masse* upon the columns of the enemy; they precipitated themselves upon the bayonets and cannon of the Spaniards, and at first drove them backwards; but the latter, though few in number were formidable from their discipline, and soon regained their lost ground. The battle raged with singular fury. The Mexicans ignorant of, or despising the effects of the artillery, approached fearlessly to the very muzzles of the guns, and placing their *sombreros** before them endeavored to prevent their explosion. Unprovided with fire-arms and destitute of that confidence in the support of

* Broad rimmed hats, made of Palmetto or flags.

their fellow-soldiers, which is the result of a high state of discipline, the insurgents soon discovered that they were unequal to the small but compact body which opposed them. In vain their rude and disorderly masses threw themselves upon the Spanish columns, and with their clubs endeavored to drive them back. At each successive discharge of the fatal cannon, hundreds fell bleeding to the earth, who cumbered the ground and impeded the motions of the belligerents. At length the firmness of the royalists began to make an impression upon the minds of their foes, who despairing of victory, wavered for an instant, and then throwing down their arms, fled in terror from the field. The work of death now commenced in earnest; the flying Mexicans were pursued and cut down by thousands. No mercy was given or asked! The slaughter continued while a rebel remained on the scene of the bloody encounter, nor was the vindictive fury of the Spaniards appeased, until they had immolated ten thousand of their brave but reckless adversaries.* Hidalgo retreated in confusion to Guanajuato, but being pursued by Calleja, he continued his flight to Guadalaxara, leaving his lieutenant Don Ignacio Allende, with a division of his army to defend the pass of Marfil which commanded the entrance to the former city.

Allende was attacked by the Spanish leader soon afterwards; and, notwithstanding his gallant resistance, he was driven from his position, and compelled to retire, with loss, upon the main body. Calleja entered Guanajuato in triumph, and determined to signalize his victories by an act which would forever render his name terrible throughout the land. Pretending to suspect the inhabitants of the unfortunate city of having espoused the cause of the rebels, he ordered his troops to drive the people into the great square; where, in obedience to his commands, fourteen

* Robinson's Memoirs.

thousand persons—men, *women* and *children*—were butchered in cold blood. Their throats were cut; and their mutilated remains were piled in great heaps in the plaza. The inhuman Calleja, boasting, in his dispatches to the government, that he had "effectually purged the city of its rebellious population;" offering as an apology for the mode of sacrifice, the scarcity of powder and ball!* From Guanajuato, the Spanish leader followed the enemy in his retreat towards Guadalaxara, putting every one whom he suspected to death.

General Cruz, who was at the head of a division of the royal forces, attacked and defeated the rebels at Zamora, in the *tierra caliente*, and recaptured the city of Valladolid. This general, pursuing the same policy as Calleja, treated the inhabitants with great cruelty. The insurgent army halted near Guadalaxara and prepared to defend their position; several large pieces of artillery were brought from San Blas, on the Pacific, and intrenchments were thrown up at the bridge of Calderon, thirty miles east of the city.

Hidalgo had lost, in his late reverses, some thirty thousand men; many of whom had deserted their chief when the tide of war set against him. He was, however, still able to muster eighty thousand troops; who, having learned prudence in their recent disasters, were anxious to atone for their errors, by submitting themselves to the instructions of their officers. Their leader aroused their enthusiasm by frequent harangues,—appealing to their patriotism, and recalling the injuries they had received from the proud Spaniards, he besought them to resist to the last moment.

Calleja, marching with deliberation, did not reach the vicinity of the rebel lines until the middle of winter.

On the 17th of January, 1811, the hostile armies once more encountered each other. Hidalgo's position was a

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

strong one, and his force infinitely superior to his rival's in numbers, but sadly deficient in arms. The signal for the battle was no sooner given, than the rebels, rushing with irresistible fury upon their foes, swept them from their path. They broke the columns of the Spaniards, and drove them back upon their reserve. The insurgents, elated with their success and forgetful of discipline, pushed forward in a disorderly manner. Seizing the favorable moment, Calleja brought up his reserve; which, charging vigorously, decided the contest. The panic stricken Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled ingloriously. In the rout which ensued, vast numbers of them were slain; no quarter was given; every prisoner taken being instantly put to death. All persons who had extended the least encouragement to the enemy, were disposed of in a summary manner; and the tragic scenes of Guanajuato were repeated at Guadalaxara.

Hidalgo and Allende, accompanied by their principal officers, took the road toward the eastern internal provinces, with the intention of crossing the Rio Grande, and there reorganizing the scattered army. They were closely pursued by Calleja, and a body of troops stationed at Altamira; the commandant of the western internal provinces also sending a party against them, under Colonel Ochoa.

Thus beset upon all sides, the rebel chiefs might nevertheless have escaped, had not one of their number betrayed them. The fugitives had reached Acatita de Bajan, near Saltillo, when Captain Bustamente, an officer of Hidalgo's staff, delivered them into the hands of the enemy. On the 21st of March, they were surrounded; and after an obstinate resistance, during which fifty of their companions were slain, the party were captured and taken to Chihuahua, and confined in the Jesuits' college of that city. They remained in prison for some months; were finally tried for treason and heresy, and condemned to suffer death.

Don Ignacio Allende, the second officer in the rebel forces, was executed on the 20th of June, in the court-yard of the college. Hidalgo, after having been degraded from the priesthood, was put to death on the 27th of July, 1811; supplicating heaven, in his last moments, to aid his countrymen in their struggle for independence.

Such was the catastrophe of the brief but eventful career of the curate of Dolores; a man who possessed both virtue and ability, but lacking the essentials that make up the character of a successful commander.—He wanted firmness, judgment, and presence of mind; without which no one ever controlled the tumultuous elements of a revolution.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

DEFEAT of Rayon at Zitaquaro — Organization of the Patriot Junta — The Rebels adopt the Guerilla Mode of Warfare — The Character of these Troops — Padre Morelos — The Action of Quatla Amilpas — Capture of Oaxaca — The Siege of the Castle at Acapulco — The Guerilla Chiefs: Victoria, Teran, Cos, and Ossourno.

AFTER the fall of Hidalgo, the command of his broken and dispersed army was assumed by general Rayon, who was still able to muster forty thousand men. This general established his head-quarters at Zitaquaro, and endeavored to open negotiation with the enemy. Calleja, however, refused to hold any communication with the insurgents, while in arms against the government.

Rayon, who had been educated as a lawyer, and was a person of superior abilities, formed a kind of junta at Zitaquaro, — which was composed of the most prominent leaders of his party. Assisted by these individuals, he used every means to elevate the courage of his troops, and to reduce them to a proper state of discipline. The royalist leader scarcely gave him time for this; but marching rapidly against him, he attacked the town, and after an engagement of three hours, compelled the rebels to evacuate the place. Rayon's army soon fell to pieces. The most active among the partisans fled to Zultepic, where they

continued to meet in council as the supreme authority of their constituents.

By a decree of the vice-regal government, the town of Zitaquaro was razed to the ground — the movables of the inhabitants confiscated — and they, themselves, driven forth, houseless wanderers upon the plains.* These severities, although they frightened the more timid among the malcontents into submission, did not affect all in this manner; but rather excited the passions of the people than subdued them. The junta issued a manifesto denouncing the barbarity of the government, and calling upon the oppressed to renew their struggles for independence. Many of the officers, who had escaped from the disastrous battle of the bridge of Calderon, retired to the remoter sections of country, and there levied considerable bodies of troops. These bands rendered themselves terrible to the enemy, and carried on a successful *guerrilla* warfare, characterized by great cruelty.

The flames of civil war, instead of being confined to one province, now spread rapidly throughout the country, in spite of the victories of Calleja, the decrees of the viceroy, or the more dreaded anathemas of the Church. It is difficult to subdue a people determined to be free:

> "For freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

The guerilla chiefs, undaunted by the reverses their cause had sustained, did not fear to encounter the enemy when an opportunity presented itself. Their line of operations extended from Vera Cruz, on the Gulf, to the provinces on the Pacific, and as far north as Zacatecas and San Luis Potosi. The viceroy, unable to raise a sufficient number of troops to put down the revolt — or, perhaps, unwilling to trust the natives with arms, found it neces-

* Robinson's Memoirs.

sary to call upon the home government for the requisite reinforcements. The Cadiz regency, in compliance with the demand, sent a considerable number of men to Mexico, in November, 1811. These unfortunate soldiers soon fell victims to the climate, so fatal along the coasts, or perished in obscure and inglorious conflicts with the rebels. Such indeed was the success of the guerillas, that the royalists were at last compelled to seek shelter in the large towns, not daring to leave their walls unless in large bodies.

This desultory mode of warfare, however, was not calculated to advance the cause of Mexican freedom; the insurgents were prevented, from the scattered position of their forces, from executing a combined movement against the strongholds of their adversaries. Another reason existed which rendered the "liberals" less dangerous: this was the disunion which pervaded their ranks, caused by the jealousy of the different rival chiefs, who acting independently of each other, scorned to acknowledge any superior. There was, in consequence, a want of unity of action, without which no cause can prosper. The guerillas were also destitute of artillery and firearms, and totally ignorant of the art of war. In fighting, they made but one charge; if repulsed, they retired in disarray, and neither threats nor promises could arrest their retreat.— If they succeeded in breaking the enemy's line, they generally gained the victory, and signalized their triumph by putting their prisoners to death — sometimes with horrid tortures! Nine-tenths of the guerillas were mounted, and were the best horsemen in Mexico: they were armed with the sword, lance, and *lasso;* the latter, a most formidable weapon in the hands of a Mexican accustomed to its use.

In this condition of the affairs of the liberal party, a new leader sprang up, and offered himself to head their armies and control their destinies: this was Jose Maria Morelos, a priest, who had been the spiritual guide of one of the most important districts near the city of Acapulco,

on the Pacific Ocean. Morelos, like his predecessor Hidalgo, had been reared in the bosom of the church, and had ministered at the altar until he reached the meridian of life, when moved by the sufferings of his countrymen, or ambitious of renown, he deserted the peaceful calling of a rural pastor, for the pride of war and the bloody trophies of the battle-field.

He commenced his career of arms by mustering a few followers in the province of Valladolid; and formally announcing his adherence to the liberal party. His reputation rapidly increased, and he was soon able to bring seven thousand men against the enemy. His troops were well clothed, armed, and disciplined, when compared with those under Hidalgo, and, of course, more formidable than an equal number of the disorderly guerillas.

With this small but efficient army, Morelos attacked and worsted the royalists upon several occasions. The courage of his men rose with each success; and he soon felt strong enough to encounter the dreaded Calleja himself. He now took possession of Quatla Amilpas, a town of some importance, which he fortified, intending to make it the base of his operations. The viceroy dispatched Calleja against him, and Morelos, being unable to procure a sufficient supply of food, was forced to retreat in haste. Calleja pursued the insurgents, falling upon their rear and harassing them during the march. All who fell into the hands of the enemy were slain on the spot, so that for a distance of seven leagues the ground was strewn with the dead bodies of the rebels.* The people of the town were severely punished by the royalist leader, for allowing Morelos to enter their walls, although they were incapable of resistance had he attempted to take it by force.

The loss sustained by the rebel chief was scarcely felt, his ranks filling up rapidly with recruits from all parts,

* It is said five thousand men perished during this disastrous retreat.

who flocked to his standard in crowds. He was, in a short time, again able to take the field; and being opposed by a force under general Fuentes, he defeated that commander in an action which took place at Textla. Following up his victory, he marched against every important city in the southern and western provinces; — his success was unprecedented, the people receiving him with open arms as the champion of liberty. Morelos sent a portion of his army into the rich mining country of Oaxaca. The inhabitants of the towns, and of the opulent city of Oaxaca itself, hailed the insurgents as brothers and opened their gates to receive them. The booty seized at Oaxaca was very valuable, consisting of one thousand *ceroons* of cochineal and two millions of dollars! These immense resources were, however, divided among the troops, and squandered in dissipation, when they should have been appropriated for the furtherance of the cause of freedom. The next enterprise undertaken by the patriots — as they now designated themselves — was the reduction of the strong castle of San Carlos, which defended the city and harbor of Acapulco on the Pacific Ocean. This was the most unfortunate military movement which had been made during the campaign, as the fortress of San Carlos was capable of resisting a much more formidable force than could be brought against it by the rebel leader, destitute, as he was, of cannon, and ignorant of the science of engineering. There was but one way, by which it could be reduced, that was by cutting off the supplies of the garrison, and starving them out. Morelos, therefore, posted his troops upon all sides of the castle, and patiently awaited the issue of the siege, which was remarkable for perseverance rather than energy.

In the meanwhile, Don Guadaloupe Victoria — a name famous in the revolutionary annals of Mexico — held possession of the country lying between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, defying the attempts of the viceroy to dislodge him from his position among the mountains. Don Manuel Mier y

Teran, a youthful, but noble and chivalric creole, commanded a large guerilla party in the country about Puebla de los Angeles. Ossourno, another patriot chief, swept over the valley of Mexico, carrying his depredations even to the very gates of the capital. While Rayon, Padre Cos, and others, infested the provinces of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Valladolid, and Guadalaxara, spreading terror throughout the land, and emulating the enemy in converting it into one great field of blood: for the work of death never ceased, while a victim remained to be sacrificed.

The government sustained a severe loss, amid all of these troubles, by the absence of general Calleja, who had retired to Spain, where he was received, by the authorities, with every demonstration of respect. The cruelties he had practiced were too much in unison with the policy of Spain to meet with the disapprobation of her rulers.

CHAPTER II.

THE Invasion of Texas by Americans—Capture and Siege of Goliad—Battle of San Antonio — Defeat of Salcedo — Massacre of Spanish Officers — Defeat of Elisondo — Advance of Arredondo — General Toledo assumes the Command — Treachery of the Mexicans and Defeat of the Americans and Indians — Retreat from Bexar—Capture and Fate of the Fugitives.

WHILE Morelos and his compatriots were prosecuting the war in the south, a powerful diversion in their favor was set on foot in the north, and came from a source as unexpected as it was alarming. In the autumn of the year 1812, Lieutenant Magee, of the United States' Army, was dispatched to the Sabine river, with a small force, for the purpose of apprehending certain parties of outlaws, who had established themselves in that country, and who were engaged in robbing the caravans, which were often passing between the internal provinces of Mexico and Louisiana. Magee, who was an active and efficient officer, soon dispersed the plunderers and broke up their haunts. But his communication with them was productive of singular consequences.

There seems to have existed a mania in the American people in regard to the conquest of Mexico, which has shown itself, on several occasions, ever since the occupation of Louisiana. Whether this feeling has been engendered by the weakness and distracted condition of that country, or by the vast treasures of gold and silver which abound there, it is impossible to say; but, that a strong desire to conquer Mexico does exist, the history of the last thirty years proves beyond a doubt. Perhaps, the success of Cortes

and his cavaliers may have had some influence in firing the imaginations of the rash adventurers, who, from time to time, have invaded Mexico in the hope of achieving fame or inexhaustible wealth. Whatever the cause may be;—Lieutenant Magee, after he had broken up the brigands who had infested the frontiers of Louisiana, found himself infected with an irresistible desire to march into Mexico. He succceeded in enlisting the outlaws in his enterprise; and, resigning his commission, proceeded to New Orleans for the double purpose of obtaining supplies and recruits. While here, he encountered Don Jose Bernardo Guitierez, a Mexican refugee, who had been concerned in Hidalgo's rebellion. This personage eagerly accepted the invitation proffered him to join the expedition.

Entering the province of Texas, the adventurers erected their standard on the Trinity river, and invited the Mexicans who were opposed to the government to enroll themselves in their ranks. In the hope of conciliating the people of the country, Don Bernardo Guitierez was appointed to the nominal post of commander-in-chief. Their first demonstration was upon the town of Nacogdoches, sixty miles west of the Sabine, — the stream which divides Louisiana from Texas. The place yielded without a blow; the inhabitants furnishing them with provisions, and many of them enlisting in the enterprise. Magee soon found himself at the head of five hundred men, three hundred of whom were Americans. In the latter part of the autumn he took up the line of march for the west; and, advancing to the river San Antonio, he seized the fortress of Goliad, which commanded the town and mission of La Bahia del Espiritu Santo. General Salcedo, the commandant of the province, marched against the adventurers early in the winter, and besieged the fort with an army of fifteen hundred men. The siege continued during the winter—its monotony was varied by frequent encounters, in which the Spaniards were usually the greatest sufferers, the American riflemen using

their deadly weapons with their accustomed skill. Salcedo, after spending some months in the effort to recapture the fort, retired in the spring of 1813, leaving the country exposed to the enemy. In the meantime, the leader of the expedition, Magee, died of consumption, and the command was given to Colonel Kemper, an energetic and popular officer.

The adventurers, elated with their success, now resolved to attack the town of San Antonio de Bexar, the capital of Texas. Marching up through the wilderness lying between the two places, they met with no opposition until they had approached within six miles of the town, when they encountered General Salcedo with a force of twelve hundred men, which were drawn up across their path. The Spaniards were supported by six pieces of cannon, which were posted in the road, and flanked by their infantry. Salcedo opened a fire upon the advancing foe, as they drew near, which was returned with deadly effect. Colonel Kemper dividing his men into three columns — attacked the centre and both wings of the enemy at the same moment. They recoiled at the sudden shock; and, falling into confusion, they fled, leaving many of their number lying upon the field. The loss, on the part of the adventurers, was very small; while that of the Spaniards was considerable. The Spanish officers surrendered, under a guarantee of good treatment; and the town of San Antonio de Bexar opened its gates to the victors. Guitierez was not satisfied with the lenity shown to the captured officers, and supported by the Mexicans in the camp, he inhumanly put seventeen of their number to death, in defiance of the menaces or prayers of the Americans, who used every means in their power to prevent the perfidious deed. Colonel Kemper and captains Ross and Lockett, horror-struck at this infamous breach of faith — for they had pledged themselves for the safety of the unfortunate men, — immediately resigned their commands, and together with a portion of their followers, returned to the United States. Their loss was scarcely felt by those who remained,

their companies rapidly filling up with youthful adventurers from the "States," who were eager to realize their dreams of southern conquest.

After the departure of Kemper, Colonel Perry was appointed leader of the forces, by unanimous consent. The Mexicans, who now numbered about seven hundred, were formed into a division by themselves, under the command of one Manchaco, an energetic but treacherous native of the province. Two hundred American Indians had also joined the fortunes of the adventurers, and proved brave and valuable auxiliaries in the contests which followed.

The government of Mexico, when informed of the defeat of Salcedo, dispatched General Elisondo with an army of fifteen hundred regular troops, supported by a considerable number of *Rancheros*, from the country of the Rio Grande, to the scene of war. Elisondo advanced to within a short distance of Bexar, and pitched his camp. In the morning, about the break of day, as his troops were engaged in their customary devotions, they were suddenly attacked by their wakeful adversaries, and, after a brief struggle put to rout, with the loss of four hundred men, killed and wounded. The enemy were dispersed; their general making a narrow escape with a few of his followers. This victory raised the hopes of the patriots throughout the land, and warned the viceroy to redouble his efforts to quell the spirit of revolt ere it reached the adjacent provinces. With all his exertions, distracted as he was by the difficulties that beset him on all sides, he was unable to send more than two thousand troops to the north. These were, however, picked men — veterans who had shared in many a desperate fight; and were commanded by General Joaquin de Arredondo, an intelligent and able soldier, who was, nevertheless, cruel and unprincipled when it served his purpose.

The advance of Arredondo was looked for calmly by the army of Bexar, which had recently received a valuable acquisition to their cause, in the person of General Toledo, a

creole of distinguished family and reputation, who had been a member of the Cortes of Cadiz. Toledo was solicited to take the command, and accepted it, to the joy of the Americans, and the dissatisfaction of the Mexicans, under Manchaco, who regarded his elevation with envy and distrust.

As the enemy approached, Toledo drew up his forces, each division under its own leader, and waited for the Spaniards to commence the battle. Arredondo sent forward a strong party to reconnoitre, which was immediately attacked by Manchaco, against the orders of Toledo. The enemy retreated, followed by the Mexican division, which was soon decoyed into an ambush. The other divisions were ordered up to their support, and the battle became general. At this crisis, Manchaco drew off his men and retired, leaving four hundred Americans and their two hundred Indian allies to bear the brunt of the fight. This they did valiantly; pouring a deadly stream of fire into the ranks of the foe, which told fearfully. The conflict continued until the ammunition of the adventurers being exhausted, they were reluctantly compelled to retreat, on the evening of the 18th of August, the day upon which the engagement took place. Arredondo kept possession of the field: having suffered too severely to follow up his advantage. As the seven hundred Mexicans had deserted in the beginning of the battle, the forces under Toledo had been obliged to contend with more than three times their own number. The enemy lost, during the action, six hundred of their best troops; — the adventurers leaving one hundred of their comrades upon the field. No prisoners were taken by either party.

Manchaco, unable to bear the reproaches heaped upon him — or, acting upon a concerted plan — went over to the Spaniards with such information relative to the condition of Toledo's force, as precluded the possibility of attempting to continue the war. The Americans, therefore, determined to return home, and began their march towards the east, covered with wounds, if not with spoils. A portion of them

escaped under Perry, across the frontier. Some of them delaying on the route, were overtaken and captured by the enemy on the Trinity, and carried to Mexico; whence they were deported to Manilla, Malaga, and the Spanish *presidio's* on the coast of Africa; where, loaded with chains, they terminated their wretched existence. Such was the melancholy issue of this enterprise. Had Toledo defeated the royalists, and formed a junction with the patriots of the south, as he anticipated, the catastrophe would, doubtless, have been very different.

CHAPTER III.

RETURN of Calleja as Viceroy — Progress of the Civil War — The Patriot Junta assembled at Azpatzingan — Manifesto of the Rebels — Folly and Treachery of the Junta — The Intrigues of Calleja — The Siege of Valladolid — The Retreat of Morelos — Battle of Puruaran — Augustin Iturbide — Rout of the Insurgents — Death of Matamoros — March to Tehuacan — Execution of Morelos.

DON FELIX MARIA CALLEJA returned from Spain in 1813, covered with honors — having been appointed Viceroy of Mexico, with the title of Conde de Calderon, as a reward for the services he had rendered the government, by destroying the rebel army under Hidalgo. This able but sanguinary soldier, soon found occasion to use the talents he was gifted with, in the exercise of his delegated power. The viceroyalty was alive with the enemies of the government, who seemed sternly bent upon its destruction, and reckless of the means by which they sought to accomplish their purpose. Toledo's defeat, although it carried with it the prestige of future victories, had been dearly purchased; and was, after all, but the removal of one head from the hydra of rebellion, whose deadly folds encompassed the land.

The guerillas desolated and plundered the country with impunity: murdering every European Spaniard, or partisan of the royalists, who was so unfortunate as to become their prisoner. The government party were equally guilty of the same revolting crimes; their route could be traced by the mangled remains of thousands of their adversaries, whose bodies were suspended upon trees or lay festering in the public roads. Upon all sides was to be seen the sad spectacle of the smouldering ruins of villages, farms, and haciendas,

their once prosperous inhabitants driven forth, beggars and outcasts upon the earth.* Many, who at night were in the enjoyment of all that makes life desirable, were in the morning bereft of every comfort, friends, riches, and home. Women were openly violated; and the white haired senior and tender infant fell together, under the swords of the brutal soldiery.† In many provinces the fields were left untilled, and the horrors of famine, followed by disease, added to the sufferings of the already desperate people, and threatened to depopulate the fairest portion of the country.

The Viceroy, shut up in the city of Mexico, whence he could not stir without a powerful escort, found it impossible to communicate with the leaders of the regular forces. His correspondence with the Spanish government was interrupted, and his supplies of arms and munitions from abroad, were either captured by the rebels or detained for months in the harbor of Vera Cruz. The capital itself was not free from the spirit of insubordination; evidences of a disposition to exult in the success of the insurgents alarmed the authorities and caused the viceroy to tremble for his personal safety. A proclamation was issued, making it criminal for more than three persons to meet together, unless they were members of the same family, or resided in the same house; while the garrison of the city was reinforced by strong detachments from the Spanish troops. These precautions proved effectual; the people of the capital were over-awed, and constrained to submit, when to resist would have been useless as well as dangerous.

Morelos, after a protracted siege of fifteen months, captured the strong castle of San Carlos, which defended Acapulco; the government being unable, during that period, to send a single battalion to the relief of the besieged. The insurgent chief, instead of improving the advantages his position gave him, by opening the ports on the Pacific, and

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* Robinson's Mem. † Zavala's Hist. Rev. Nuev. Espagn.

obtaining by this means a supply of arms and munitions of war, which he much needed, resolved to march upon the city of Mexico. He was now master of the rich provinces of Valladolid, Oaxaca, and a portion of Guadalaxara, three-fifths of the population of which were devoted to his cause, and still echoed the cry "death to the Gachupin." By fortifying the passes of the mountains of the Misteca, he could have easily cut off all communication between the valley of Anahuac and the Pacific shore. An army of ten times the strength of the rebel force, would have found it difficult to surmount the impediments which could be thrown in their way, during their passage through the narrow gorges of the Sierra Madre.

Devoted to the sacred cause of liberty, Morelos, whose influence was all-powerful with his party, felt no disposition to assume the position of a dictator. He therefore proposed the creation of a legislative body, composed of deputies from the several provinces which had pronounced in favor of the liberal principles. The proposition was accepted; and the junta consisting of forty members, assembled at Azpatzingan, in the department of Valladolid. It was organized by the appointment of Don Jose Maria Liceaga, a distinguished patriot, as president. A constitution was drawn up, approved by the junta, and sworn to by the insurgents, with all the solemnity usual upon such occasions. The Assembly then issued a manifesto declaring their principles, and the causes which had driven them to take up arms against the viceroy.* This instrument commences by declaring that the sovereignty of Mexico is inherent in the mass of the nation; that Spain and Mexico are portions of the same kingdom — subject to the same monarch, and are equally independent of each other; that the loyal people of America have more right to convoke a cortes of the nation than the disloyal people of Spain; that the European Spaniards have no right

* Robinson's Memoirs.

to assume the government over these countries, during the absence of the king from the Peninsula; that all laws and authority emanating from the Cortes of Spain are null and void; that it is just and right for the Mexicans to resist the government, and a proof of their patriotism and loyalty to the king. The manifesto, moreover, declares, that since the legitimate sovereign of Spain has been deposed, the Mexicans have a right to demand a guarantee for their security, by holding their country for the king, unmolested by the Spaniards. Recognizing the above principles, the junta made the following just demands:—That the viceroy surrender the command of the army to a congress, representing Ferdinand VII, which would be independent of Spain; that the Europeans should be protected — retaining their offices, honors, privileges, and a part of their revenues. The document also proposed, that an act of oblivion should be passed, and that the inhabitants of Mexico should constitute a nation who were to be the subjects of Ferdinand, independent of the Spanish government; that the Mexicans would assist the people of Spain, who were engaged in a war with the enemy — in testimony of their fraternity with them in the objects to be attained. The Junta further declared, that all Europeans who desired to leave the country, would be provided with passports and safe-conducts to any part of the world.

If these propositions were refused, it was proposed to submit the following conditions to the Viceroy for his acceptance: — First, That a war between brethren and fellow-subjects, ought not to be more cruel than a foreign war; that both parties recognize Ferdinand VII as their sovereign; and that the rights of nations, inviolate even among infidel and savage tribes, should be more sacred among those who profess the same creed, and are subject to the same sovereign and laws; that it is opposed to the spirit of Christianity to be impelled by hatred, malice, or the passion of revenge; and as the sword, and not the arguments dictated by equity

and reason, are to decide the contest, it should be carried on in such a manner as to be the least shocking to humanity. It was further proposed, "That prisoners of war be not treated as criminals guilty of high treason; that no one be sentenced to die for this cause, but the prisoners be kept as hostages or for the purpose of exchange; not loaded with chains or imprisoned, but confined in places where they can do no injury; that all prisoners should be treated according to their rank; that the law of war does not allow the spilling of blood, except in cases of actual combat; therefore, no one should be slain after he surrenders, or has thrown down his arms, and is flying from the field; that it is against the laws of war and nature, to enter defenceless towns, and to assign the people thereof by tenths and fifths to be put to death, confounding the innocent with the guilty; — but that the inhabitants of such places, through which either party shall pass, be unmolested. It is unwarrantable to connect the present war with religion, as was attempted in the beginning; the ecclesiastics should confine their ministry within their own jurisdiction; nor should the ecclesiastical tribunals (the inquisition) interfere in a matter concerning the state alone. If the clergy continue to act as heretofore, they will certainly expose their dignity, censures, and decrees, to the scorn, derision, and contempt of the people; who in general are anxiously wishing the success of the (patriots) country. Should the churchmen be unrestrained, the Junta declares itself not to be responsible for the effects arising from the indignation of the people; at the same time proclaiming their respect and veneration for them, in all matters within their jurisdiction. The manifesto concludes, by urging its publication in the public journal of the capital, that the people may declare their will; which should be the guide of the Junta in its operations. Should the Viceroy refuse to recognize the above propositions, the "lex talionis" was to be put in force against his party.

The manifesto of the patriots was treated with scorn by

the Viceroy, and its humane propositions rejected, upon the absurd plea of its being derogatory to the Spanish character to negotiate with rebels in arms against the government. The old system of carrying on the war was therefore continued: the last hope of reconciliation being destroyed by the refusal of the viceroy to soften the horrors of the contest, by accepting the terms offered by the Junta of Azpatzingan.

Morelos, eager to resume his operations against the enemy, discovered when too late, the folly he had been guilty of in surrendering his authority into the hands of the Mexican Junta: the members of which, ignorant and prejudiced, defeated his measures and forced him to listless inactivity, at a crisis when energy and perseverance would have secured the triumph of the patriot arms. If an outline of a campaign was drawn up by the rebel chief or his officers, it was openly discussed by the representatives of the people, and either rendered abortive by delay or communicated to the Viceroy. The Junta, like all such assemblies, was divided into several factions, each of which was struggling for the mastery; and a spirit of jealousy and discord reigned in every heart, to the great detriment and ruin of the cause. The able Calleja, aware of this fact, turned it to his own advantage by corrupting the faith, and suborning to his interests several members of the legislative body. The treason was discovered by some dispatches, which had been fortunately intercepted, and the names of many distinguished individuals revealed, who had accepted the bribes and promises of the enemy. The slight bonds which had united the civil and military authorities were completely destroyed by this event; all unity of action between them ceased, and thenceforth the affairs of the patriots began to decline rapidly. Their wily adversary had gained his point by sowing the seeds of disunion among his foes; like the ancient Greek, he knew the value of the "fox's skin when the lion's hide fell short."

In the latter part of 1813, Morelos once more took the

field, and opened the campaign by marching upon the city of Valladolid, which had been retaken by the enemy, and strongly fortified. Situated on the western declivity of the great Cordillera of Anahuac, this city is built upon an elevation of 6400 feet above the level of the sea; and although the climate is delightfully mild, during the great part of the year, yet snow has been seen to fall in its streets in seasons of uncommon severity. The winter had already begun when Morelos arrived before Valladolid; and as his troops were composed of natives of the *tierra caliente* they soon experienced the change from the burning plains of the south to the cold regions of the mountains. Accustomed from infancy to a climate where eternal summer reigned, the effeminate children of the plains were unable to bear the rude blasts of the north wind, which swept through their camp and chilled their half naked bodies. The insurgent leader, dispirited by the murmurs of his discontented men, made a few feeble attempts upon the town, which were repulsed with loss. Finding it impossible to make an impression upon the city, Morelos raised the siege and retreated towards the south with his now demoralized army. He was pursued by a division of Llano's brigade, commanded by Augustin Iturbide. The rear-guard of the fugitives, under Matamoros, Morelos' second in command, was overtaken at the hacienda of Puruaran, and a desperate conflict followed. The enemy charged with great fury upon the patriots, who defended themselves with energy inspired by hatred and revenge. Iturbide was known to have never spared a prisoner, and was, in consequence, detested by the rebels, who regarded him with horror; but notwithstanding the efforts of Matamoros, who displayed great personal valor and military talent, the insurgent columns were broken — vast numbers slain — the rest overpowered, and taken prisoners on the spot.

This was the greatest victory the enemy had achieved since the affair at the Bridge of Calderon, and was almost as

fatal to the patriot cause. The slaughter was very great on both sides; the number of prisoners captured were nine hundred, among whom was the brave Matamoros. This individual had also been a priest, and had endeared himself to his general by his fidelity and superior talents. Morelos immediately offered several Spanish officers and men in exchange for his lieutenant, but without success. He was far too dangerous a character to be spared, and in defiance of the menaces of the insurgent leader, this officer, after being degraded from the priesthood, was put to death, with twenty-five of his fellow-prisoners.

This was the first serious reverse which had befallen the rebels for some time, and filled them with gloomy apprehensions for the future, while it animated the enemy and strengthened their hands. Morelos retired, with the remains of his army, beyond the reach of the victorious royalists; and endeavored to recruit his shattered battalions, and raise the drooping courage of his men. The disastrous defeat at Puruaran had taught him caution, and he never allowed himself to be drawn into a general engagement afterwards; but confined his efforts to fighting the enemy in detail, and cutting off his supplies. The Mexican Junta held its meetings at Ario: where protected by the army, they continued to annoy the leaders of their party by their absurd and foolish interference in matters of which they were entirely ignorant.

Bonaparte restored the crown to Ferdinand VII., in 1813, by the treaty of Valence, and in March 1814, the King returned to Spain. His misfortunes had neither made him a better nor a wiser man. He was unfitted in every way to govern the nations fate had assigned him. A sensualist and an imbecile, he was as depraved in morals as he was vacant in mind. In his luxurious palace of Aranjuez, surrounded by the voluptuous daughters of Andalusia, he was forgetful of the wrongs of his people, whose sighs were drowned by the lascivious strains which

floated through the orange groves of his magnificent abode. If the groans of the injured Mexicans reached his ear, recalling to his remembrance their steadfast devotion to his person when a stranger sat upon his throne, and he wandered an exile from his home, the thought was crushed, at its birth, as an unwelcome intruder upon the pleasures to which he had yielded up his frivolous soul. Scarcely had the descendant of the Bourbons resumed the reins of sovereignty, when he was surrounded by monks, friars, and inquisitors, whose Gothic prejudices were in direct opposition to the spirit of the age. Yet the weak monarch delivered himself up to their guidance, and proceeded to administer the government upon a system, based upon the infallibility of the Pope, and the divine right of kings: an exploded doctrine, which had been trampled to the earth by the conquering legions of France; when, scaling the Pyrennees, they demolished the strongholds of bigotry and monkish superstition. The destruction of the Inquisition of Spain, by Napoleon, was like the fall of the Bastile, an epoch fatal to the cause of temporal and spiritual tyrannies. The Spaniards had learned to think and act for their country during the absence of their king, and many sympathized with the oppressed people of Mexico, in their efforts to shake off the chains which held them in feudal bondage. But these generous spirits were few compared with the mass of the nation, and the Mexicans derived no assistance from them.

During the greater part of the year 1814, Morelos was engaged in detached operations against the Viceroy's troops, without obtaining any considerable advantage worthy of recording. In the autumn of 1815, after having experienced many disasters and difficulties, the patriot leader resolved to abandon the Province of Valladolid, and unite his forces with those of some other chief. He accordingly began his march towards the town of Tehuacan in the Intendancy of Puebla; where General Terán, a distinguished guerilla, had established his head-quarters. His army was impeded in the

march by the members of the Junta, and crowds of women and children — the relatives and friends of his men. The road was lined for several miles with trains of wagons and pack mules; all was confusion and disarray, and resembled the emigration of a tribe rather than the march of a warlike expedition. Morelos, confiding in the superiority of his force, was not apprehensive of an attack from the enemy, although parties of them were descried hovering upon his flank and rear. Accompanied by a small escort of cavalry, the rebel general imprudently hastened onward in advance of his troops, to a place called Tepecuacuila. The royalists being apprised of this through their spies, Morelos was suddenly attacked by a superior force, and after a brief but desperate struggle, overpowered and taken prisoner, on the 5th of November. He was immediately conveyed to the capital and incarcerated in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Morelos was tried for atheism, materialism, and heresy, by the holy office. "One proof of his guilt was, that he was the father of two children!* The accused abjured, and was absolved in an *auto-da-fe* which was celebrated with as much pomp and magnificence as those in the days of Philip the Second."

Aware that Calleja would put the prisoner to death, the Inquisitors contented themselves with degrading him from the priesthood; which was done by the Bishop of Antequera. Morelos was then transferred to the secular power, taken to San Christobal, twelve miles from Mexico, and shot in the back as a traitor, on the 22nd of December, 1815. He is said to have died in the most heroic manner. Morelos was a superior man and a true patriot. He had fought forty-six battles during his career, and was seldom defeated.

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* General Juan N. Almonte is said to have been one of these children: if so his birth is more illustrious than many of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER IV.

Dispersion of the Rebel Junta by General Teran — Exploits of the Guerillas: Victoria, Ossourno, and Guerrero — Expedition against Guasacualco — Affair at Playa Vicente — Battle between Topete and Teran — Defeat of the Spaniards — Return to Tehuacan—Apodaca appointed Viceroy — Capitulation of Teran — The Character of that Chief.

The death of Morelos proved almost fatal to the cause of which he had been so prominent a supporter. He was the only chief upon whom the rival leaders of the patriot party could have concurred, in electing as their commanding general. His untoward fate cast a gloom over the future prospects of his compatriots, and added fresh courage to the enemies of freedom.

Don Manuel Mier y Teran had at his disposal about fifteen hundred irregular troops, who were under tolerable discipline, and devoted to their chief. He had constructed a stronghold upon the Cerro Colorado, a lofty height overlooking the town of Tehuacan.* Teran had been remarkably successful in his enterprises against the enemy, and enjoyed great popularity among the members of his party. The Mexican Junta, which now held its meetings at Tehuacan, soon became envious of the power lodged in the hands of the military, and evinced a strong disposition to curtail their influence. While the different commanders, regarding the Junta with contempt, were struggling for the supreme authority among themselves, disdaining to obey the legisla-

* Tehuacan de las Granadas, or Miztica, was a place of peculiar sanctity during the reign of the Montezumas.

tive decrees unless they suited their own purposes; Teran's popularity aroused the jealousy of the deputies, and they combined to deprive him of his command. Discovering their treacherous design, he resolved to defeat their ungenerous intentions by dissolving the junta by force. In the latter part of December, 1815, the patriot leader, followed by his escort, entered the hall occupied by the deputies, and dispersed them at the point of the bayonet. Resistance, under the circumstances, was useless; as Teran's authority was backed by the weapons of fifteen hundred devoted followers, who would have cut them to pieces had he commanded them. The conduct of Teran, however justifiable on his part, proved injurious to the cause, by rupturing the only tie which bound the insurgent chiefs to each other. Henceforth every leader pursued his own policy, regardless of that of his compatriots, and but too often directed to no other end than their own selfish aggrandizement. Exercising a power, within the range of their several jurisdictions, more cruel and arbitrary than that of the hired myrmidons of the viceroy; they prostituted the sacred name of liberty by using it as a cloak, under which they committed the most wanton outrages upon the lives and property of their suffering countrymen. Wherever the guerillas established themselves, anarchy and disorder reigned unchecked by a single law, save that of brutal force. The want of an acknowledged head, capable of controlling the fierce elements that composed the rebel party, was one of the principal causes of its ruin. The insurgents, ceasing to be governed by a common power, rapidly degenerated into mere brigands, who rioted in the spoils torn from friend and foe.

Notwithstanding this unhappy state of affairs, the guerillas annoyed the government upon every opportunity: — attacking their convoys, cutting off their supplies, and desolating the country in the vicinity of the fortified towns in possession of the enemy. Calleja, although reinforced by several battalions of troops from Spain, was unable to put

down a single rebellious province; if he succeeded in capturing or dispersing one party another would suddenly spring up, as if from the blood of the slain, and surprising his veterans while rejoicing over their recent triumph, convert it into a defeat.

Among those who distinguished themselves in this kind of irregular warfare was Victoria, who had quartered himself in the province of Vera Cruz, and with a force of fifteen hundred men, ravaged the country from one extremity of that intendancy to the other. Colonel Ossourno had at his disposal a force of two thousand cavalry, and had established himself in the district of Papantla, near the valley of Mexico. General Rayon commanded a body of eighteen hundred men, in the province of Valladolid, and garrisoned the fort of Copero, where he held his head-quarters. Don Vicente Guerrero, the brave but unfortunate champion of liberty, infested the mountains of the Misteca with a formidable division, and defied the power of the government to disperse his rude, but enthusiastic bands. Teran, Victoria, and Ossourno, were cantoned within sixty miles of each other, and could have easily united their forces in forty-eight hours, and combining, carried on the contest with some hope of success; but the miserable jealousy of the two latter prevented any plan of this kind. Teran proposed to them to unite with him, and seize upon Tampico, or some other port upon the Gulf, by means of which they would be enabled to obtain a supply of arms and munitions of war, so much needed by all. These commanders, however, refused to aid their enterprising companion, who, disgusted with their selfishness, resolved to carry out his scheme himself. As Teran's force was too weak to capture any maritime town of importance, he determined to cross the province of Oaxaca, and seize upon the port of Guasacualco, situated to the southward of Vera Cruz, and that of Tehuantepic, on the Pacific shore. These ports are nearly opposite each other, and, between them, the continent is not more

than a hundred and thirty-five miles in breadth. By taking possession of either of these ports, he anticipated being able to obtain the necessary supplies from abroad. The summer had already commenced, and there was no time to be lost in carrying out his project, as the rainy season was about to set in, during which the streams rise above their banks, and overflow the low-lands, rendering the march of an army impossible.

Leaving Tehuacan de las Granadas, on the 24th of July, 1816, Teran began his march at the head of a detachment composed of two hundred and forty infantry and sixty cavalry, supported by two small field pieces. His passage was undisputed by the enemy, and he succeeded in reaching Tustepic, half-way between his point of departure and destination, without difficulty. Scarcely had he arrived here, when the heavens became black with clouds, and torrents of rain descended, which deluged the whole country, rendering advance or retreat equally impossible. Confined to a small village, destitute of provisions, the situation of the guerilla was becoming desperate, when the people of Tustepic, who were mostly Indians, or persons of mixed blood, came to his rescue, and furnished him with rations for his troops.

The Viceroy, in the meantime, had learned the object of the expedition, and had dispatched a body of men to defeat his attack upon Guasacualco, and cut off his return to Tehuacan.

Learning the preparations of the enemy by means of the Indians, the rebel chief found himself placed in an awkward dilemma. Prevented, by the elements, from prosecuting his plans as he had originally proposed, he was compelled to lie inactive while his foes were marching against him, ready to capture him when the waters abated. Teran had begun to despair, when, to his great relief, he learned from a party of Indians, that at the distance of twenty-four miles, there was a village called Amistan, from

which there was a road to Guasacualco, open even during the rainy season. It would be necessary, however, in the passage to Amistan, to overcome many obstacles—swamps, rivers, and deep ravines were to be crossed, which would require no ordinary degree of perseverance and labor. The energy of Teran was, however, equal to the emergency, and he lost no time in making the attempt. With the aid of the Indians of Tustepic, he succeeded in surmounting the impediments which lay in his way, and reached Amistan on the 5th of September; ten days being consumed in the passage.

Fifteen miles from this point was the village of Playa Vicente, a military post occupied by the enemy. It was situated upon the bank of a small river, difficult to pass at this time of the year. Having received information that there was a considerable quantity of goods stored at the village, Teran determined to take possession of the booty if possible. He accordingly advanced to the stream, and bivouacked opposite the place, on the 7th of September. The following day he learned that the garrison of Playa had evacuated the village during the night, leaving behind them the stores, consisting of cochineal and dry goods, which had excited the cupidity of the guerillas.* Their commander immediately set his men to constructing rafts of logs for the purpose of crossing to the other side. In the meantime, a party of some twenty of his men, impatient to get hold of the booty, procured a canoe and passed the stream. Teran, fearful of the result, if the party were allowed to range through the village unmolested, followed them, accompanied by three of his officers. While engaged

* Wm. D. Robinson, the author of "Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution," was with Teran in this expedition. He was captured at Playa Vicente, and taken to Vera Cruz, and confined in the dungeons of San Juan de Ulloa for some years. He was subsequently carried to Spain, and in defiance of the laws of humanity, about to be consigned to perpetual imprisonment, when he fortunately made his escape.

in taking precautions for the safety of the persons and property of the inhabitants, he was alarmed by the approach of the enemy. Forming his men, with their rear upon the houses of the village, Teran prepared to defend himself resolutely.

The royalists, commanded by Colonel Ortega, soon advanced and opened a fire upon the little party, which was returned with effect. The guerillas fought desperately, but were soon overpowered, and every one of them killed, except their leader and two others, who saved themselves by plunging into the river and swimming it, amidst a shower of balls.

Exasperated by his defeat, Teran, the ensuing day, prepared to cross his whole force, and recover the village. On the afternoon of the 9th, as he was about to attempt the passage, he was informed that General Topete, with six hundred cavalry, and the same number of infantry, was within a few leagues of his position, and proposed attacking him at day-break on the following morning. Fearful, if he remained, that he would be forced to fight Ortega and Topete at the same time, the insurgent chief, when he received this intelligence, broke up his camp, and leaving the river, marched nine miles into the country, and took up a position in some woods. It was now dark; and he had scarcely posted his sentinels, when the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry approached. They were hailed by Teran's out-posts, who fired upon them. Astonished at the seeming ubiquity of the guerillas, whom he supposed were at the river, Topete determined to await the return of daylight to unravel the mystery; and falling back a short distance, encamped for the night.

Teran prepared to make a strong defence, by constructing a barricade of the trunks of trees, and concealed his men by thick bushes placed before them. He masked his two pieces of cannon from view in the same manner. A few hours before daybreak, the active rebel visited every

man at his post, and obtained from them a promise to hold out to the last moment, and to die rather than retreat or surrender.

When the morning dawned, the enemy were seen advancing a half a mile distant. Between the two forces a narrow, but deep and rapid stream, wound its way, the steep banks of which rendered it difficult to cross. When Topete's advance, consisting of a strong party of cavalry, reached the verge of the creek they halted, uncertain whether to continue onward or to remain upon that side. The rebels were effectually concealed from their view by the luxuriant undergrowth of the woods, and an accurate reconnoissance of their position was impossible. After hesitating about an hour they passed the stream, and cautiously approached. At this moment Teran, with some thirty of his men, issued from his concealment, and showed himself to the enemy. The ruse succeeded — the cavalry, charging at full speed, were decoyed into the ambush. At a given signal the guerillas opened a terrible fire from their cannon and muskets, and with loud shouts, charged suddenly upon the astonished royalists, who, thrown into disorder by the unexpected attack, retreated in haste toward the main body. In attempting to cross the creek, they crowded upon each other, so as to defeat their purpose, and as many of them were drowned, or trampled to death, as were slain by the guerillas. Teran pursued the flying foe with his whole force, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the main body of Topete's force retire with a precipitation as unlooked for as it was desired. The officers were unable to rally their men, and they fled in the utmost disorder, leaving Teran master of the field. The enemy lost, in this action, one hundred and twenty killed, a large number wounded, and sixty taken prisoners. The guerillas had nine killed, and thirteen wounded.

Learning from his prisoners that the Viceroy was making preparations to defend Guasacualco, and had sent two

Spanish ships of war to that port, the patriot leader resolved to retreat to Tehuacan, in Puebla, his former quarters. He therefore retraced his steps, and arrived safely at Tehuacan, and established himself in his fort on the Cerro Colorado.

Though singularly successful in his rencounters with the King's troops, General Teran was aware of the impossibility of effecting any great achievement, unless the patriot commanders would unite their forces, or at least co-operate with each other; he therefore renewed his offers of friendship to Victoria and Ossourno, and proposed that they should merge their several commands into one. His advances were received coldly, and his proposition rejected by both of these chiefs, who had looked upon him with an evil eye since his unwarrantable dissolution of the patriot Junta.

The infamous Calleja, about this time, was superseded by the Spanish Admiral, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, a personage of a mild, conciliatory disposition, every way different from his predecessor. The new Viceroy determined to signalize his accession to power by crushing the rebels, who had vexed the land since 1810, at one blow. He began by sending an army of four thousand veterans against Teran, rightly considering him the most dangerous and enterprising of the enemies of the government. The guerilla prepared for the coming struggle, undaunted by the superior numbers of the advancing foe. He sent the women and children to the fort on the Cerro Colorado, and remained with five hundred of his most faithful followers, in the town of Tehuacan. Having fortified the convent of San Francisco, he took possession of it, determined to resist to the last, should the enemy attempt to carry the place. This they however did not do, as Teran had made such preparations for the defence of the convent, that to storm it would have been no easy matter. The royalists therefore contented themselves with investing the place closely; they surrounded the town upon all sides, and cut off all communication

between it and the fortress upon the heights above. No supplies were allowed to enter the place, and the besieged soon began to suffer for food and water. After some time, finding that neither Victoria nor Ossourno intended to march to his assistance, Teran conceived it his duty to accept the terms offered by the enemy, as the only means of preserving the lives of his companions. These conditions were highly flattering to Teran, and were such as had been refused more than once, to the other patriot leaders, showing the great opinion the government entertained of his abilities as a partisan commander. He alone, of all the rebel chiefs, was conscious of the importance of combination, and was the only one who aspired to something more glorious than the reduction of a petty fortress or the burning of an enemy's hacienda. His activity, courage, and address, peculiarly fitted him for a successful leader, in a struggle conducted upon such principles as the civil war of Mexico.

Teran lived to participate in the triumphs of his party, and at last to fall a victim to the cause, of which he had ever been an ardent and enthusiastic champion.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Progress of the Revolution — Success of the Royalists — General Victoria's Troops dispersed — He withdraws from the Contest — Surrender of Copero — Character of Ossourno and his Lieutenant, Gomez Vincente — The famous Guerilla, Jose Antonio Torres — His Character and Cruelty toward his own Party — Organization of a Revolutionary Committee — Condition of the Patriot Party in Mexico at this Period.

Having rid itself of one of its most active and enterprising opponents by the capitulation of Tehuacan, the government next turned its efforts against those that still remained. With a force of fifteen hundred men, Don Guadalupe Victoria had infested the intendancy of Vera Cruz for some years, and bade defiance to the exertions of the enemy's troops sent against him. Familiar with the country where he had established himself — its mountain passes and untravelled paths—this famous guerilla traversed the province from the Rio Baraderas* to the Panuco, attacking the royalists, capturing their convoys, and spreading terror throughout the land. Never allowing himself to be drawn into a general engagement, he generally took the field with a small force, keeping the main body of his men

* Otherwise called Rio Lagartos.

as a *corps de reserve*. If defeated by the enemy, and his followers killed or dispersed, he would retire to his mountain fastness, and recruiting his band, he would renew the struggle in some other part of the country with an energy which astonished his adversaries. Twenty times did the only journal in Mexico announce the defeat of this distinguished rebel, and the utter extinction of the patriot party in the province of Vera Cruz, and as many times were they undeceived by the re-appearance of Victoria at the head of a formidable band. He seemed to bear a charmed life — to be invincible by the ordinary means used against him. The people of the province were never injured by the insurgent chief, whose respect for religion and the rights of his fellow-men extorted praise even from his bitterest foes.* He made war, not upon his oppressed countrymen, but upon the tyrannical government which for three centuries had trampled them to the earth, denying them the common privileges of humanity. The guerilla had many friends among them, from whom he obtained supplies for his troops, and intelligence of the designs of his enemies, who were often decoyed by the peasants into an ambush, and cut to pieces, ere they suspected the approach of a hostile force.

The Mexican Junta, when the affairs of their party assumed a favorable aspect, had dispatched Jose Manuel de Herrera to New Orleans as their agent, with full powers to act in their behalf in all matters of a political or commercial character. Padre Herrera (for he also was an ecclesiastic) procured arms, ammunition and supplies for the patriots, and even issued commissions, military and naval, in the name of the Junta. In order to ensure the reception of certain munitions of war sent to him by this person, Victoria seized the small port of Boquilla de Piedras, situated on the northern coast of Vera Cruz. He was not

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* Zavala's Hist. Rev. Nueva Espagna.

permitted to hold it long. The enemy marched against him with a superior force: he was compelled to retire to the hills, where, being pursued, his fortune changed, and he soon found it impossible to continue the contest with any hope of success.*

The energy of the government was fully developed in hunting down this formidable chief. They reduced him to extremity by cutting off his supplies, killing his men, and dispersing his once terrible bands.

Victoria himself fled beyond the reach of the enemy, and concealed amid the craters of extinct volcanoes which abound in the province, he eluded his pursuers; and though universally supposed to be dead, he lived to witness the downfall of the Spanish power in America. Guadalupe Victoria was brave, able, and a sincere patriot; but, like the rest of his compatriots, jealous of his power, and too fond of exercising it upon trifling occasions.

Don Ignacio Rayon, who had established his head-quarters at the fort of Copero, in the province of Valladolid, becoming "disgusted with the selfish and sanguinary conduct of the several insurgent leaders," resolved to yield up his strong-hold, and retire from the contest. He had repeatedly urged the necessity of combining the patriot forces for the purpose of bringing the war to a crisis, and had often remonstrated with his colleagues against their cruel and bloody policy in slaying their prisoners. His interference was repudiated with disdain by the guerillas, who carried out the *lex talionis* to its utmost limit. Being an intelligent and refined man, Rayon determined to abandon a cause polluted by so many crimes, and surrendered the fort of Copero into the hands of the Viceroy. He had been one of the most determined enemies of the government, and though an able lawyer, he was a very unsuccessful commander.

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* Robinson's Memoirs Zavala's Hist. Revolution.

Ossourno was now the only dangerous enemy left in the field with whom the royalists had to contend. This personage commanded two thousand of the best cavalry in Mexico; and confining his operations to the vicinity of the capital, he rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the viceregal authorities. Devoid of principle, and those feelings of humanity which are often found in the rudest characters, Ossourno was little better than a robber, bent upon plundering the people, under the guise of patriotism. His followers, like himself, were steeped in sensuality and crime, and hesitated at no deed, however atrocious, in order to gratify their depraved passions. Towns and villages were burned, fields laid waste, and even the sacred precincts of the cloister violated by these lawless ruffians, who swept like a hurricane across the province, dangerous to friend as well as foe.

The infamous Vincente Gomez, the lieutenant of Ossourno, distinguished himself by his disregard of all laws, human and divine. He delighted to torture his unhappy prisoners, mutilating their persons in a shocking manner, ere he consigned them to death. Gomez was in the habit of boasting that he had murdered several Spaniards without shedding their blood—the miscreant *had buried his victims alive.** Such deeds of cruelty rendered him terrible to the enemy, who endeavored, but in vain, to bring him to condign punishment. Finding it impossible to kill or capture him, they entered into negotiation with the wretch, and finally caused him to desert his band, by guaranteeing him the same rank in the royal army which he held under Ossourno. Through the instrumentality of Gomez, the force commanded by Ossourno was surprised and cut to pieces, the villain adding to his other crimes the damning sin of treachery.

Such was the fate of the principal leaders of the patriot party. The Viceroy garrisoned every town in the

* Robinson's Memoirs.

revolted provinces, and by this means overawed the people. He was not able, however, to rid the country entirely of the hostile bands which infested certain parts of both the eastern and western intendancies. These irregular bodies of troops were commanded by "illiterate and brutal peasants," whose insensibility to fear had raised them above their fellow-brigands to stations peculiarly fitted to display their abilities in oppressing their miserable victims. The intelligent portion of the liberals, disgusted with the licentiousness and cruelty of these wretches, gradually withdrew from the districts occupied by their forces, and placed themselves under the protection of the Spanish troops; the Viceroy having granted the royal pardon to all who submitted to his authority.

The most formidable of these guerillas was Jose Antonio Torres, an ecclesiastic, formerly curate of Naranjas, a small pueblo inhabited by ignorant serfs, over whom he had ruled in a despotic manner. This member of the Church militant had buckled on the uniform of an officer over his cassock, and assumed the title of a Marescal del Campo in the insurgent army. Cunning, licentious, cruel, and vindictive, he was never known to spare an enemy or even a friend, who stood in the road to his preferment. A ruffian—among the vilest of the human race—a false friend, and a treacherous enemy—debauched, wicked, and degraded, Torres had one redeeming trait,

"A single virtue linked to a thousand crimes."

He loved his country! and desired nothing so much as her emancipation from the tyranny of Spain. He hated the government, and all connected with it, and rejected with anger and contempt the offers of rank and wealth made him, if he would abjure his principles, and accept the royal pardon.* Torres had established himself upon the hill of Los Remedios, in the province of Guanajuato, which he

* Robinson.

had fortified in the strongest manner. It commanded the rich plains of the Baxio, which was better cultivated than any part of Mexico, and covered with populous towns and pueblos; through it wound the Rio Santiago, which, after a course equal to that of the Rhine, falls into the Bay of San Blas, on the Pacific. The rebel leader divided the country into military districts, over which presided his subalterns, appointed by himself. Each commander exercised unlimited sway over the lives and property of those who resided within their jurisdictions, responsible to no one but Torres. They levied contributions in the name of the patriot cause, inflicted punishments, and denounced as traitors all who murmured at their arbitrary conduct.

The whole number of men who acknowledged Torres as their chief were about seven thousand. They were nearly all Indians, or Mestizoes, who took the field mounted, and armed with long lances. They were seldom paid, except they were fortunate in plundering a village or cutting off a royal convoy. They resided at their own homes, and mustered at the call of their several captains. When wearied of service they deserted with impunity, and were under such discipline as is usual among banditti actuated by no other purpose than love of an adventurous life, and the hope of booty.

Padre Torres himself lived like an Oriental prince in his strong-hold of Los Remedios, surrounded by women and all the luxuries which abound in the tropics: "In the height of his glory, he was seen surrounded by sycophants and women, singing the most fulsome songs in his praise, while extended on his couch, fanned by a delicate hand, the sultan himself would listen with rapture to the grossest adulation, indulging in loud bursts of laughter, arising from his heartfelt satisfaction. Swelling and exulting with vain-glory, he would often exclaim, 'Yo soy gefe de todo el mundo:' 'I am the chief of the whole world.'" As an illustration of the absurdly cruel policy pursued by Torres,

it will be scarcely necessary to relate more than the following instances of his reckless conduct:

In order to check the advance of the King's troops, who after the dispersion of the most formidable leaders of the patriot forces, had entered the Baxio, and taken possession of its principal cities, Torres resolved to destroy them. Accordingly he commanded the inhabitants of the "wealthy, populous, and flourishing" towns of Perjamo, El Valle de Santiago, and Puruandiro, to remove their valuables within six hours, and then to set their respective dwellings on fire. The people living in the two former places obeyed the mandate; those of the latter besought the tyrant for more time, in order that they might remove all their effects. Torres refused to listen to them; and becoming enraged, sent his myrmidons to Puruandiro, who running through the streets with burning torches, fired every house in the town, save the churches. At one time, while passing near a pueblo, in the Baxio, he saw the inhabitants flying to a hill in the vicinity. Entering the place, he called them back, and regardless of their assertions that they had mistaken his escort for a body of the king's troops, he ordered every tenth man to confess, and prepare for instant death. This cruel sentence was carried into effect—the tears and prayers of the wives and children of the victims making no impression upon the relentless butcher, who remained to witness the execution.*

That he might at least keep up an appearance of acting under authority, Torres maintained a correspondence with the Revolutionary Committee, which had been organized after the dissolution of the Junta at Tehuacan. This body consisted of four members: of Don Ignacio Ayolo, who was president; Francis Loxero, Mariano Tercero, and Doctor Jose San Martin. The committee met at the fortress of Jauxilla, about sixty miles from Los Remedios. Overawed

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

by the guerillas, these functionaries were the mere tools of Padre Torres, and dared not oppose his will, however injurious it might be to the interests of the party.

Such was the state of the patriot cause in the beginning of the year 1817, when another actor appeared amid the scenes of the civil wars which desolated Mexico, blazed brightly for a brief space, and was lost in the darkness which followed. But though lost, he is not forgotten, nor ever will be, as long as mankind are capable of appreciating the deeds of a hero — deeds which were not without their influence long after the hero himself slept beneath the sod that was stained with his blood. Though no gilded mausoleum, rich with the spoils of a noble art, marks the spot where he lies, yet the Mexican, as he crosses the lonely hill crowned with the ruins of the dismantled fortress, sighs, as he casts his eyes on the grave below, and mutters a prayer for the soul of Xavier Mina.

CHAPTER II.

Xavier Mina — His Birth, Parentage, and early Exploits — Sails for Mexico — Lands on Galveston Island — Commodore Aury — Colonel Perry — The Expedition sails for the Rio Santander — Soto la Marina — Defeat of La Garza — Mina's Plans — Desertion of Colonel Perry and Fifty Men — Sufferings of the Fugitives — Desperate Battle between the Americans and Mexicans — Heroic Death of Colonel Perry.

Xavier Mina was born in the year 1789, near Monreal, in the province of Navarre. He was the eldest son of a noble and wealthy family, and a nephew of the famous Epoz y Mina. He was sent at an early age to Saragossa, in Arragon, to complete his studies. While a student there the French army entered Spain, and Joseph Bonaparte was placed upon the throne. Forsaking his studies, Mina joined the Spanish army of the north as a volunteer, and was engaged in several actions.

After the battle of Belchite, and the defeat of the Spaniards, Mina, with a few followers, retired into Navarre, and adopting the mode of warfare practiced by his relative, Epoz, he soon became a formidable guerilla chief. At one time he captured seven hundred of the enemy, together with a large amount of money and military stores, destined for the French army. The force under his command was at no period very great; yet from his knowledge of the province to which he confined his operations, he was enabled to elude the vigilance of his pursuers, and to worst them upon all occasions. Brave, generous, and humane, Mina was distinguished as much by the gentleness which characterized his conduct as by the chivalrous nature of his

exploits. He was entirely free from that ferocity, and blood-thirsty spirit of revenge, which was so rife among the Spanish guerillas. The Junta of Seville, as some reward for his great services, gave him a colonel's commission, and soon after appointed him commandant-general of Navarre. The Supreme Junta of Arragon subsequently created Mina commandant-general of Upper Arragon.*

In the winter of 1810–11, Mina was ordered to destroy an extensive foundry, situated in the vicinity of Pampeluna. While passing through a defile of the mountains, he suddenly found himself between two strong parties of the French, who had entered either extremity of the pass, and thus cut off his advance or retreat. Determined to force his way through every obstacle, Mina fought desperately, until overcome by superior numbers, his party was obliged to yield to the fortune of war, and surrender. Mina himself, fell wounded and a prisoner, into the hands of the French. He was taken to Paris, and afterwards confined in the castle of Vincennes, by order of Napoleon. He remained in durance until the allied armies entered France, when he was liberated, upon the abdication of the emperor.

Mina returned to the peninsula in 1813; and having been an active partisan of the Constitutionalists, he was regarded with no favorable eye by the restored monarch, who, unable to deny his services, offered him the command of the troops then operating against the Mexican rebels. Mina refused to accept the appointment, and withdrew into Navarre, where Epoz y Mina was at the head of a considerable force. When his refusal was known, the king deprived Epoz of his command. The two Minas, enraged at the conduct of Ferdinand, resolved to proclaim the Constitution, and raise the standard of revolt. Having secured the assistance of several officers belonging to the garrison of Pampeluna, a plot was laid to place that important for-

* Memoirs.

tress in their possession. The sentinels were withdrawn, and ladders fixed to the walls, and every thing prepared for the consummation of the plan, when an unfortunate occurrence prevented the advance of Epoz y Mina at the appointed time, which was midnight. The scheme was in consequence abandoned, and the officers connected with it fled into France. Xavier Mina was taken prisoner near Bayonne. Being liberated he retired to England, where he formed the resolution of aiding the patriots of Mexico in freeing themselves from the tyranny of Spain. Procuring a vessel, which he loaded with arms and munitions of war, Mina sailed from England in May, 1816, accompanied by several Spanish and Italian officers. Arriving safely at Baltimore, he made a considerable addition to his military stores. He purchased a brig which was capable of being converted into a vessel of war, and procured cannon, clothing, and necessaries for his troops.

The Spanish envoy, resident at Washington, hearing of these preparations, addressed the American government upon the subject, demanding its interference in suppressing the expedition. The request of Don Luis de Onis was not complied with by the government, which was not disposed to meddle in the affair as long as Mina did not openly violate the laws of the Republic. Mina's vessels being under English colors, De Onis then applied to the British consul at Baltimore to aid him in detaining the adventurers. This personage did every thing in his power to attain that purpose, but without success; being compelled to yield up the ship's papers, which he had unlawfully detained.*

On the 21st of September, 1816, the expedition sailed from Baltimore. It consisted of two fast sailing vessels, on board of which were two hundred infantry, and a company of artillery, most of whom were Americans. Touching at St. Domingo, the adventurers were received hospitably

* Memoirs.

by President Petion, who assisted them in repairing their ships, which had been injured in a storm. This delayed their voyage, and they did not reach Galveston Island, the place of their destination, until the 24th of November.

According to a previous arrangement, Mina, upon his arrival at Galveston, found General Aury (a patriot officer) encamped upon the eastern extremity of the Island, where he had fortified his position by throwing up an embankment of sand, upon which he had placed several pieces of heavy ordnance. The force under this commander amounted to two hundred men, one hundred of whom were Americans; the others were Mexicans, Negroes, and renegadoes from all parts of the world. The former were under the immediate command of Colonel Perry, the same officer who had fought under General Toledo, near San Antonio de Bexar, on the 18th of August, 1813. Escaping from that engagement, Perry had joined his fortunes to those of the Mexican patriots once more, in the hope of witnessing the ultimate triumph of the cause of which he was an ardent partisan. Upon the arrival of Mina, Perry resolved to leave the service of Aury, and enlist under the former. This movement created considerable disturbance in the camp, and it was not without difficulty that bloodshed was prevented, as both parties were much excited. The adventurers remained during the winter at Galveston.

On the 27th of March, 1817, Mina sailed for the mouth of the Rio Santander, on the coast of San Luis Potosi. The fleet consisted of seven vessels, of small size and light draught. When off the Rio Grande, it was found necessary to replenish their stock of water. Major Sarda was sent ashore upon this duty. Being mistaken for a royalist, he was unmolested by the soldiers who were stationed to guard the mouth of the river, and to prevent the privateers and pirates of the Gulf from obtaining supplies. While the party were engaged in filling their water casks, four of the men deserted, and gave the enemy the alarm. In a few

days the squadron arrived at its destination, and on the 15th of April Mina disembarked his troops, meeting with no opposition from the royalists or the people of the country. Fifty miles from the mouth of the Santander, there was a small town, called Soto la Marina, situated on the left bank of the river. Sending the main body of his force up the stream by land, and loading his boats with cannon and munitions, Mina arrived, without meeting a single enemy, at Soto la Marina; the government having left the coast open to the invaders, although the deserters had announced their approach.

Don Felix la Garza, the commandant of the district, who was at the head of some three hundred men, abandoned the town upon the advance of Mina, taking with him the respectable portion of the inhabitants; acting upon their fears by picturing the invaders as a band of miscreants, whose only object was plunder. The people that remained, among whom was the Cura, were agreeably disappointed by the conduct of the strangers, whose kindness soon won their good opinion.

One of Mina's first acts was to issue a manifesto, setting forth the causes which had brought him to Mexico, and explaining his intentions in connecting himself with the patriots. The proclamation produced the desired effect, and not only calmed the apprehensions of the Mexicans, but brought more than two hundred of them to his camp. Obtaining a supply of horses, Mina organized a squadron of cavalry, and dividing them into parties, sent them in different directions to observe the movements of the enemy. One of these bodies penetrated to Santander, the capital of the colony, without opposition. About six leagues from Soto la Marina was the hacienda of Palo Alto, the property of Don Ramon de la Mora, who had promised to furnish the adventurers with supplies. This personage, however, had no intention of keeping his word, but suddenly fled, taking with him all of his valuable movables, and a large

amount of money. Mina immediately set off in pursuit with a detachment of twenty horse, and a company of foot under Colonel Perry. The cavalry returned from the search, having taken the wrong track. The infantry, pushing forward, overtook the fugitives the following morning: as Perry advanced they fled, leaving the treasure, which was taken possession of without scruple. Scarcely had they done this, when the party were attacked by Don Felix la Garza, who had been escorting the fugitives with a body of three hundred cavalry. Perry prepared to defend his spoils, although his force did not number more than eighty men, rank and file. Riding forward, the Mexican leader demanded a parley, and offered the royal pardon, and good treatment to them, if they would surrender themselves prisoners of war. This being refused, Garza charged upon the party with great fury, but he was unable to break his adversaries' line. The attempt was repeated with no better success; and the Mexicans finding them determined to resist to the last, precipitately fled, leaving a part of their number dead upon the field. This affair inspired the adventurers with great contempt for the enemy, while it increased the dread already felt for the invaders, whose numbers and prowess were exaggerated to a ridiculous extent.

Don Joaquin Arredondo, the captain-general of the eastern provinces, having received intelligence of the landing of Mina, prepared to march against him without delay. The head-quarters of this general was at Monterey, the capital of Nueva Leon. With considerable difficulty, he was able to muster two thousand men, a force sufficiently powerful to drive the adventurers from the country. Aware of the impossibility of attempting to maintain his position against such superior numbers, Mina, whose forces consisted of but four hundred and eighty men, resolved to fortify his camp at Soto la Marina, and with a portion of his troops to advance into the interior, and forming a

junction with the patriots of Guanajuato, return and meet the enemy. All hands were accordingly set to work constructing a fort; the people of the country, who had become their warm friends, willingly assisted them, and in a few days the earthen walls were completed. Several large guns were brought up the river and mounted upon the fort, among which there were two large mortars. The stream being very narrow at this point, it was found necessary to throw up defences upon the opposite bank, in order to protect the rear of the fort. This work was begun, but unfortunately never finished. Procuring a supply of beef and maize from the Mexicans of the vicinity, the fortress was victualed for a siege, and considered strong enough to hold out until the return of Mina with reinforcements.

As Mina was preparing to march toward the south, Colonel Perry announced his determination to leave the camp and return to the States, considering their force too weak to achieve any great object. During the absence of Mina from the camp, Perry addressed his men upon the dangerous character of the enterprise they had embarked in, and persuaded fifty of their number to desert with him. Leaving Soto la Marina, they marched along the sea shore in the direction of Matagorda Bay, where they intended to procure boats to convey them to the frontiers of Louisiana. They began their disastrous retreat in the latter part of May, when the heat of the sun is very great, and water extremely scarce. The sufferings of the party were aggravated by the enemy, whose troops hung upon their rear, and attacked them upon every favorable opportunity during the march. The adventurers had already begun to congratulate themselves in having arrived in the vicinity of their destination, when in an evil moment, their leader resolved to attempt the capture of a fortress garrisoned by a small body of the enemy. Perry accordingly summoned the place to surrender. While the astonished commandant was deliberating upon this unlooked-for demand, a party

of two hundred royalist cavalry appeared upon the plain. Their approach changed the aspect of the day, and reversed the relative position of the belligerents. The Americans, forming into line of battle, received the charge of the lancers with a volley, which checked their career, and which would have doubtless terminated the contest, had not the garrison of the fort sallied out and attacked them in the rear. Surrounded upon all sides by an overwhelming force, there was no alternative but to fight to the last extremity; and gallantly did these desperate men sustain their reputation: they poured a deadly shower of balls into the ranks of the enemy every moment, beating off the cavalry, and forcing the infantry to retire before their murderous discharge. Great numbers of both parties had fallen; yet hopeful of victory, they fought on. Again and again did the lancers charge upon the now diminished line, and aided by the garrison in the rear, endeavor to break through the slender, but compact wall of heroes. Blackened with smoke and powder, their garments rent by the enemy's shot, and bleeding from a thousand wounds, the adventurers continued the struggle like men who had devoted themselves to death. The sun had disappeared in the west, and the shadows of night were gathering thick upon the plain — a few miserable beings alone remained, whose exhausted efforts no longer served to check the charge of the foe. As the darkness deepened, a single individual still waved his sword in defiance: it was the leader of the Americans, who, disdaining to yield, fell, Roman-like, by his own hand!

CHAPTER III.

Mina Marches toward the South — He is Opposed by the Enemy, under Colonel Arminan — El Valle de Mais — Battle of Peotillas — Defeat of the Spanish Forces — The Crafty Priest of Hideonda — The Women of Espiritu Santo — Capture of Real del Pinos — Execution of a Soldier for Sacrilege — Mina Enters Guanajuato — Termination of the March at Sombrero — Mina's Evil Genius.

Receiving intelligence that Arredondo was within a short distance, Mina left Soto la Marina on the 24th of May, with a force composed of one hundred and twenty-four cavalry, and one hundred and seventy-six infantry. The fort was manned by one hundred soldiers, under the command of Don Jose Sarda, an active and gallant Spanish officer, whose subsequent conduct proved him to be worthy of the highest praise. In order that he might move rapidly, Mina mounted his infantry during the march. Taking a circuitous route, in order to avoid the enemy, the division, guided by an Indian, plunged into the wilderness; and following the most unfrequented paths, they wound their way through dense thickets of cactus, and gloomy forests, which impeded their progress, and exhausted the feeble animals they bestrode. About the 1st of June, the detachment, after having suffered terribly from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, arrived at the town of Altamira, on the river Panuco, a place of considerable importance. Entering the town without opposition, Mina seized upon a cavallada of horses which had been collected for the use of Colonel Arminan, who was preparing to dispute the advance of the division.

On the 8th of June it was understood that the enemy's cavalry were in strong force at a point between Altamira

and El Valle de Mais, a small town a few miles up the stream. Too wise a commander to leave an enemy in his rear when he could risk an engagement, Mina moved on in quest of the party referred to, and came in sight of them a few miles from El Valle de Mais. They were two hundred in number, and had posted themselves upon an eminence which overlooked the road. In their rear was an equal number held in reserve. Dismounting his infantry, the general ordered them to advance under cover of a thicket, and attack the cavalry in flank. A few volleys caused them to fall back upon their reserve. Following up their success, the enemy becoming panic stricken, turned and fled rapidly. Mina pursued them, with twenty of his best mounted men, and chased them through the town. Presently the fugitives halted, as if determined to make a stand; but no sooner did they perceive the twenty dragoons approaching, than they again turned their horses' heads, and again applying their huge spurs vigorously, they disappeared over the plain. The enemy lost several men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides a field-piece, which they left behind them in their haste. Mina entered El Valle de Mais as a conqueror; but mindful of his duty, as the sworn foe of the oppressor, he treated the inhabitants with great kindness, merely levying a moderate requisition, when he might have pillaged the town with impunity.

On the 9th, Mina learned that Arminan was about to advance against him with the European regiment of Estramadura, and a strong body of Mexican cavalry. Leaving the town, the division resumed the march toward the south. On the night of the 12th they encountered a party of horse on their route to join Arminan; attacking a company of Mina's men, they drove them back upon the main force. Marching night and day, the command reached the hacienda of Peotillas on the evening of the 14th of June. On the west of the hacienda arose a chain of hills, running north and south; on the eastern side was a great plain, covered

with fields of corn and dense chaparal. On the morning of the 15th, as the half-famished soldiers were preparing the only food they had seen for some days, the alarm was given that the enemy were upon them. Forming his men into order of battle, Mina advanced to an eminence and beheld four hundred cavalry within a short distance, to the east, posted upon the skirts of a thicket; far behind was seen a dense cloud of dust, indicating the advance of the enemy's main body. It was impossible to avoid the threatened danger; the only alternative was to fight against overwhelming numbers or to surrender. He preferred the former. Dividing his force, he left one portion at the hacienda as a reserve, under the command of Colonel Naboa; with the other, numbering one hundred and seventy-two men, cavalry and infantry, he descended into the plain. The enemy immediately charged upon them, but were driven back by a well directed fire from the infantry They charged again, but with no better success, leaving several killed and wounded as they retired. Manœuvring so as to engage the attention of Mina's division, the enemy kept beyond the range of their fire, until the main body under Arminan approached. Advancing under cover of the chapparal, the regiment of Estramadura opened a tremendous fire upon Mina's flank before their presence was known. Astonished, but not dismayed, Mina gave the word to retire upon the reserve. As they fell back, the enemy deployed into the open plain, beating the charge, and pouring a heavy fire into the ranks of the retreating party. Unable to witness the slaughter of his brave followers, Mina halted; and receiving assurance of victory from the flashing eyes of his men, he determined to make a desperate stand. The enemy also paused, with their left resting upon a fence, which surrounded a field of corn, and their right flank and rear protected by a strong division of cavalry. A squadron of the enemy's lancers now advanced, and commenced killing the wounded, by transfixing them upon their weapons. Having

loaded their guns with ball and buck-shot, the battalion under Mina (most of them were Americans) charged in regular order until within a few yards of the hostile line, when bursting into a loud yell, they discharged their pieces, and threw themselves upon the enemy with the bayonet. The regiment of Estramadura was composed of Spanish veterans, the survivors of many a bloody field; but their valor forsook them now, and wavering for an instant, as if uncertain whether to advance or fly, they were seized with a panic and fled; horse and foot mingled together in inextricable confusion, the cavalry riding over the infantry in their haste to escape from the fatal scene. Mina's loss in this engagement was in killed and wounded fifty-six; that of the royalists was unknown, but it must have been very great. The division returned to the hacienda to finish the breakfast which had been so rudely interrupted, while Arminan fled to Altamira, from whence he dictated a dispatch to the governor of San Luis Potosi, informing that personage that he had met and had been defeated by a handful of men, who seemed determined to "die killing!" So assured was Arminan of victory that he had proclaimed the arrival of the hour which would place the rebel Mina a prisoner in his hands. Vain boast! Instead of a triumph he encountered a disgraceful defeat — instead of honor, he reaped the coward's merited rebuke, having been routed by a force scarcely one-tenth as great as his own, in an open field, where he had selected his position, and enjoyed every advantage over his foe. Upon the dead body of an officer was found the muster-roll of the royal forces, showing Arminan's command to consist of seven hundred European infantry and eleven hundred native Mexican cavalry. Among other documents, was an order of the day forbidding the troops to give quarter to the conquered, or to seize the spoils, until after the destruction of Mina and his men!

Fearful that the royalist leader would recover from his panic, and cease to fly when none pursued, Mina resolved to march before he could reorganize his troops, or attempt to dispute his passage. With characteristic humanity, Mina had shown the same attention to the enemy's wounded as to those belonging to his own followers. Before leaving Peotillas, he commended four of his men to the royalist leader who had been dangerously injured, requesting him to reciprocate the kindness displayed toward the disabled soldiers of the king. This request was complied with, and the unfortunate men received every attention from the hands of the royalists.

Two hours after midnight, on the morning of the 16th of June, the adventurers resumed the march toward the interior. Passing through the village of Hideonda, the priest ordered the bells to be rung, and the people under his charge to turn out and celebrate the glorious victory obtained over the government troops at Peotillas. The Padre of Hideonda was a staunch royalist, and had adopted this mode of conciliating the formidable strangers, in the hope of saving the town from a requisition. In this he was successful, the adventurers being delighted with the reception they met with.

Continuing their march toward the south-west, the party approached the confines of Zacatecas, and, on the 18th, arrived at the hacienda of Espiritu Santo. It was a fortified position, and was garrisoned by a detachment of royalist troops. At the approach of Mina, the soldiers and male inhabitants fled. When the division drew near, a troop of women were seen issuing from the gates of the hacienda, bearing an image of the Virgin, and chanting solemn hymns in her praise. Advancing with slow and measured steps, to the sound of plaintive voices, they paused in front of the terrible invaders, whom they had been taught to regard as the enemies of their country and their faith.

They had adopted this simple and touching method of softening the hearts of those they deemed men of violence and blood, albeit, doubtful of the reception they would meet with from the lawless heretics. Great, indeed, was their wonder and delight when they found themselves treated with unusual kindness and respect. Not only their persons, but their property was respected, the soldiers paying liberally for every thing they received. By such wise and humane conduct did Mina gain the hearts of all those he came in contact with.

Leaving Espiritu Santo covered with the blessings of its inhabitants, the party reached the town of Real del Pinos, in Zacatecas, on the 18th of June. This was an important and wealthy place, situated among the hills, which abounded in the precious metals. It was fortified after a fashion, and was garrisoned by three hundred men. On the side next the hills the town was defended by a deep and wide ditch; on the opposite side was a wall and trenches, commanded by cannon placed upon the ramparts, which overlooked the approaches to the place. Pinos had once sustained an assault from a party of fifteen hundred rebels, and had bid defiance to their efforts to carry it by storm. It was therefore deemed impregnable by its inhabitants; and when Mina summoned it to surrender, his demand was rejected with scorn. Determined to capture the town, Mina waited until night, and dividing his men into small parties, he made an attack upon several points at the same moment. The enemy were upon the alert; and opening a heavy fire upon them, compelled them to retire beyond the reach of their guns. The night was very dark, which proved favorable to the assailants. About midnight, a party of fifteen men discovered a point where the roofs of the houses were very low, and communicated with the terraces which looked upon the plaza. Mounting the walls, they crept along the terraces in silence, and with the aid of their blankets

lowered themselves into the square. By the light of several torches placed there, they could discern a considerable body of troops under arms, and five pieces of cannon, placed so as to command the avenues leading to the plaza. Moving cautiously in the dark, until within a few paces of the enemy, the party suddenly awake the silence of the night by giving utterance to three terrific yells, and charging upon the astonished soldiers with fixed bayonets, they drove them from the square. The enemy fled in terror from the town, leaving it at the mercy of the daring adventurers. The place was given up to plunder, the leader of the party commanding his men to respect the persons of the inhabitants. One of the band having been caught in the act of stealing the golden vessels used at the altar of the Church, Mina ordered him to be put to death, as the crime had been forbidden as sacrilegious and indecent. On the following day the division evacuated Real del Pinos, taking with them a great quantity of treasure, a stand of colors, four pieces of ordnance, and a number of small arms and military stores.

Traversing the province of Zacatecas, the division entered the intendancy of Guanajuato about the latter end of June, and on the 23d they encountered a detachment of the patriot troops, who escorted them to the fortress of Sombrero, the termination of their weary and perilous march. As the adventurers, mounted upon their half-famished horses, ascended the heights of Ybarra, they saw on the plain below a strong body of the enemy under the command of Don Francis Orrantia.* This officer had marched from Queretaro for the purpose of preventing the junction of Mina with the patriots of the interior. His force was seven hundred strong, but he was too late to effect his object,

* This Orrantia was Mina's evil genius, whose dark shadow was constantly thrown upon his path, defeating his plans, and turning his brightest hopes into bitter disappointments.

and as the division entered Sombrero, he retired to Villa de Leon, a city in the neighborhood.

The adventurers were thirty days on the march from Soto la Marina, during which they had travelled six hundred and sixty miles, fought a bloody battle, taken several towns, and suffered many hardships by flood and field.

CHAPTER IV.

General Arredondo Besieges the Fort at Soto la Marina — Desertion of La Sala — Gallant Defence of the Garrison — Noble Action of a Mexican Woman — A Drove of Horses used as a Defence — Discomfiture of the Spaniards — Capitulation of the Fort — Cruel Treatment of the Prisoners — They Plan an Escape — March to Vera Cruz — The Fate of the Unfortunate Prisoners.

After the departure of Mina, Don Jose Sarda, who had been left in command of the fort at Soto la Marina, prepared to resist the enemy, who were advancing rapidly. The village of Marina was burned, and every impediment cleared away from the vicinity of the fort, and a herd of cattle driven up for the use of the garrison. Several Mexicans enlisted in the ranks, and both officers and men were determined to risk their fortunes upon the issue of the siege.

On the 8th of June, as Captain Andreas, with a party of twenty-five, was returning from a foraging expedition, he was attacked by two hundred and twenty royalist troops, and after a gallant struggle, the party were all killed or taken prisoners, except three. Those who had been captured were put to death upon the spot. Andreas was saved upon condition of entering the ranks of the enemy.

On the 11th of June, General Arredondo encamped within three miles of the fort with an army composed of one thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, and was supported by a train of nineteen pieces of cannon. The garrison of the fort consisted of one hundred and thirteen men. On the earthen walls were three field pieces, two

howitzers, one mortar, and three carronades.* The works intended for the defence of the rear of the fort were not completed. On the 12th, the Spanish general opened a fire from a distant battery, which was continued at intervals for two days. On the following night, Captain La Sala and another officer escaped from the fort, and went over to the enemy. A party of three hundred cavalry approaching for the purpose of driving off the cattle which had been collected by the besieged, the latter sallied out, and attacking the former, compelled them to retire. The traitor La Sala, being well informed as to the condition of the works, superintended the erection of a battery upon the opposite bank of the river, from which, on the 15th, a heavy fire was opened upon the rear of the fort from twelve pieces of ordnance. Another battery was erected upon the left; thus placing the besieged between a cross-fire. Under cover of their cannon the enemy's light troops advanced to the bank of the stream, and cut off the garrison's supply of water. Mina's followers labored day and night to complete their defences, keeping up a steady discharge from their guns in answer to those of the hostile lines. The heat was extremely oppressive, and they began to suffer the worst of all tortures, the want of water, when a Mexican woman perceiving the men fainting at their posts from thirst, advanced to the stream, and amidst a heavy fire of musketry, filled a vessel with the sparkling fluid, and bore it in safety to the exhausted soldiers. The well-delivered shot of the enemy soon began to tell with fatal effect upon the walls of the fort. Several of the guns were dismounted, and a portion of the works were leveled with the ground. Arredondo, seizing the favorable moment, ordered his columns up to carry the place by storm. They advanced boldly, their trumpets and drums sounding the charge, the besieged, loading their cannon with musket balls to

* Memoirs.

the very muzzle, awaited their approach. The Spanish infantry charged to within a short distance, shouting "Viva el Rey;" when within a hundred yards the garrison answering them with the cry of "Viva la libertad, y Mina," discharged their guns, and spread havoc through their ranks: recoiling from the fire, the assailants turned and fled in terror and confusion. Rallying his troops, Arredondo again brought them to the assault, driving before them a cavallada of horses in order to protect them from the terribly destructive fire of the besieged. Reserving the contents of their guns until the attacking columns were within a few yards, the garrison applied their matches to the fatal tubes, and a sheet of flame, followed by a storm of iron hail, rained upon the devoted heads of the advancing infantry, sweeping down whole companies at every discharge. The horses which were placed in the front, maddened with pain, reared back upon the men, and plunging among their lines, forced them to retreat in disorder. Again did the Spanish leader bring his troops to the assault, and again were they repulsed with great slaughter.

The firing now ceased on both sides. The besieged were exhausted by continued fatigue; many of their cannon were dismounted, and a great number of their companions had been killed and wounded; several Mexicans fled from the fort, moved by the same instinct which teaches the rats to leave a falling house. Calling those together who remained, Sarda inquired if they wished to share the fate of the garrison? The reply was worthy of the days of Montezuma: they exclaimed, "We are ready to die with you!" Taking advantage of the cessation of hostilities, Arredondo sent a flag to the fort with a formal demand for its surrender. The answer was an unhesitating refusal. Another messenger was sent, bearing a promise to spare the lives of the besieged, if they would surrender prisoners of war. This offer was also rejected; and a third proposal was made by the Spanish general. While conferring with

the last, Major Sarda was hailed by an aid of Arredondo, who informed him that his commander did not wish the destruction of men who had fought so bravely, and had authorized him to accept any terms the garrison might propose.

The following articles of capitulation were then presented to the enemy's messenger, as the only terms upon which they could agree to surrender: "All persons connected with the fort of Soto la Marina, were to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war, each one to be treated according to his rank; the officers being allowed their liberty upon parole; the Americans to be sent to the United States on the first opportunity; the Mexicans to retire to their homes unmolested; all private property to be respected; the garrison to march out with the honors of war." These conditions were acceded to by the envoy, who declared, in presence of the garrison, his willingness to accept them, and pledged his honor, in the name of his general, that the conditions should be religiously fulfilled.* Having every confidence in the word of General Arredondo, the besieged did not demand a formal instrument, signed by the Spanish commander-in-chief. Mustering the remains of the garrison, thirty-seven in number, Major Sarda evacuated the fort, marching out with the honors of war. The enemy were astonished at the small number of their gallant foes. Arredondo, riding up to them, inquired, "Are these all of your men?" Being answered in the affirmative, he exclaimed, in a tone of unfeigned surprise, "Is it possible!" The loss of the enemy, in their attempt to reduce this insignificant fortress, was six hundred killed and wounded.

At first the prisoners were treated with kindness and respect. The viceroy, Apodaca, had recently offered a pardon to all those who would surrender; but at the end of the third day after the capitulation, they were placed under

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

guard, and a portion of them compelled to demolish the fort, and bury the dead. A short time afterwards a party of men belonging to the expedition, who had been captured by Don Felix la Garza, were brought in and put to death. Among these victims of a cruel and bloody policy was Lieutenant Hutchenson, an American, who, being wounded, was carried to the ground, and shot as he lay, unable to stand upon his feet. About the 1st of July the captives were removed to Altamira, and closely guarded. Conscious of the perfidy of their foes, and well assured of the fate which awaited them, the prisoners determined to rise upon their guards, descend the Panuco to Tampico, and there seize a vessel and sail for home. An hour before the appointed time, a detachment of soldiers entered their prison, and bore them off to separate places of confinement in different parts of the town. Loaded with chains, like so many galley slaves, these unfortunates were marched, under a strong escort, toward Vera Cruz. They suffered terribly upon the route from heat, hunger, thirst, and disease. Their misery seemed to afford infinite delight to their guards, who hurried them onward regardless of their pangs. Some of them fainted, and were bound to the horses of the cavalry with ropes, and dragged along. Others went mad, and besought their captors to end their torments by putting them to death. And when at length they arrived at Vera Cruz,

"So bare, so withered, famished in the march,"

they were incarcerated in the dungeons of San Juan de Ulloa, which were situated below the surface of the sea. In these gloomy receptacles, chained together in pairs, deprived of light, air, and wholesome food, the wretched prisoners languished, a prey to hopeless misery and disease. When the cells were opened, the sentinels often fainted, overcome by the effluvia that issued from these infernal pits. One day two of the captives were discovered lying side by side; they had perished during the

night, unknown even to their companions. The governor of the castle, Don Juan Evia, was a perfect monster, who refused to allow the shackles to be removed from the limbs of a dying prisoner, though requested to do so by his own surgeon.*

At least half of those captured at Sota la Marina died at Vera Cruz. Those who survived were sent to Spain. On their arrival at Cadiz, the governor of that city received a royal order, dated Madrid, June 11, 1818, signed by the Minister of War, setting forth, "That the Viceroy of New Spain having communicated his intention of sending to the Peninsula the individuals attached to the rabble with which Xavier Mina had invaded that kingdom, who had accepted the royal pardon; that the individuals named in the list shall, on their arrival in Spain, be distributed in the Presidios of Cadiz, Malaga, Ceuta, Mellila, and Alhucemas: the remaining twelve to be placed at the disposal of the captain-general of Majorca." This command was literally obeyed, the prisoners being sent to the different military stations on the coast of Africa, where, loaded with chains, and linked to the vilest malefactors, they were forced to toil during the remainder of their days. Some of them preferring any fate to that which had overtaken them, fled to the Moors of the desert, where they defied the persecutions of Spain.

As there is no hereafter for nations, they are punished in this world for their misdeeds; and dreadful has been the retribution poured out upon unhappy Spain, who, cherishing with fatal fondness her ancient institutions, is governed by the Gothic prejudices of the middle ages rather than by the enlightened policy of modern times. A prey to civil discord and foreign spoliation, she stands a spectacle of fallen greatness, humbled pride, and diminished power.

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* Memoirs.

CHAPTER V.

Colonel Castanon — Battle of San Juan de los Llanos — Defeat and Death of Castanon — A Mexican Crœsus — Plunder of El Jural — Interview of Mina and the Patriot Chiefs — Conduct of Torres — Popularity of Mina — Policy of the Viceroy — Abortive Attempt upon Villa de Leon — Siege of Sombrero — Sufferings of the Patriots — Death of Colonel Young — Evacuation of the Fort, and Massacre of the Prisoners.

General Mina was cordially welcomed by the commandant of Sombrero, Don Pedro Moreno, who furnished his men with an abundant supply of food for themselves and horses. After remaining a short time at the fortress, in order to recruit his weary followers, Mina again took the field against the royalists, who were in strong force in the vicinity, under Colonel Felipe Castanon, a brave, energetic, and skilful officer, whose peculiar merits had obtained for him the command of a flying division, composed of three hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry. He was allowed to act as his judgment dictated, being independent of his superiors in rank, and responsible to no one but the government. Castanon had been remarkably fortunate in his encounters with the patriots, defeating them in every engagement; and as he usually celebrated his triumphs by a general massacre of his prisoners, he was held in universal dread by the people of the country. When the signal of his approach was given the inhabitants fled to the mountains; and even the fierce guerillas shunned this formidable leader, as one too dangerous to contend with in the open field.

On the 28th of June, 1817, it was rumored that Cas-

tanon was at the town of San Felipe, forty miles distant, preparing to march against Sombrero. Mina left the fort the same evening, at the head of three hundred and thirty men, cavalry and infantry, eighty of whom were lancers. On the march they were reinforced by a party of footmen who were equipped in a most primitive manner: armed with rusty fire-locks, some of which were without flints, bayonets, or locks, wrapped in ragged blankets, these tatterdemalions exhibited but little of the pride and pomp usually associated with warlike expeditions. On the morning of the following day, as the patriots advanced toward the ruins of San Juan de los Llanos, the enemy were descried marching in the same direction. Under cover of a low hill Mina formed his infantry in two columns, the Americans in the front, supported by the cavalry. Castanon, drawing his division up in line of battle, began the action by opening a fire from two pieces of cannon, loaded with grape-shot. Mina ordered his columns to advance, which they did in silence, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, until within a few paces of the hostile line, when, delivering their fire in the faces of the enemy, they charged them with the bayonet; the cavalry, following closely in the rear, now fell upon them with their swords and lances, and dashing among their already disordered ranks, scattered them in every direction over the plain. Colonel Castanon received a mortal wound, and after being carried by his horse from the field, he fell upon the earth a few leagues from the scene of his disaster, and was found weltering in his blood. The loss of the royalists in this action was three hundred and thirty-nine killed, and two hundred and twenty prisoners; they lost two field pieces, five hundred muskets, and a quantity of ammunition and baggage. Mina's loss was eight killed and nine wounded. During the fight, the enemy, having exhausted his shot, loaded his artillery with silver dollars,

and fired the costly missiles at the patriots, who gathered them up after the action, and appropriated the coin to a very different purpose.*

The news of this brilliant affair spread rapidly over the country, and raised the drooping spirit of the friends of liberty. The death of Castanon itself was regarded as an especial mercy from on high. The remnant of Castanon's division fled to the hacienda of El Jaral, a fortified position about seven leagues northeast of Guanajuato. It was the property of Don Juan de Moncada, one of the most opulent and distinguished members of the Mexican nobility. His vast estates extended more than a hundred miles, over a country remarkable for the fertility of its soil. He could count his cattle upon a thousand hills, and his vassals in a hundred villages. The Marquis of Jaral was a staunch royalist, and willingly received the fugitives into his *palacio*, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and defended by three pieces of ordnance. On the 1st of July, Mina advanced against this place with a detachment of three hundred men. As the garrison perceived his approach they took to flight, and did not pause until they reached the city of San Luis Potosi. In the luxurious mansion of this Mexican Crœsus the patriot chief remained for two days, living daintily upon the abundant supplies the fortune of war had placed at his disposal. On the third day he returned toward Sombrero, taking with him a hundred and forty thousand dollars in money, and a few cattle to draw his wagons. The magnificent furniture, the massive gold and silver plate, the costly goods stored in the warehouses, were left untouched, by the express command of the General.

On his route to Sombrero, Mina was informed that the most eminent leaders of the patriot party were

* Memoirs of the Revolution.

assembled at the fortress, anxious to greet his return. When he arrived at Sombrero, he was warmly welcomed by the different political chiefs, who expressed themselves deeply indebted to him for his distinguished services in the cause to which he had devoted himself. General Torres alone regarded the stranger with distrust. Conscious of the superiority of Mina, he felt rebuked in his presence, and hated him for his virtues. This feeling he endeavored to hide under a great show of civility, offering at once to place himself under the command of the successful partisan, who had done more to advance the cause in three weeks than he had done in as many years. Mina declared his determination to risk his life and fortunes upon the issue of the struggle; he called upon the assembled chiefs to unite with him, promising them aid from abroad, and a successful termination to the war, if they would bend their energies to the task, and use the means the God of battles had placed in their hands. The patriot leaders, as he spoke, became infected with the enthusiasm which glowed in the heart of Mina; and when he ceased, amid the expressions of applause with which they hailed his sentiments, even Torres, carried away by a momentary impulse, left his seat, and striding across the room, grasped the hand of the general, and exclaimed, "I have six thousand men to place under your orders!" "If that be the case," said Mina, "I will march straight upon the capital." Confiding in the promises of the perfidious priest, Mina advanced him a considerable sum of money in payment of certain supplies he had pledged himself to furnish within a few days. Torres also promised to raise an additional body of troops to be placed at the command of the former, who dispatched Colonel Naboa to Los Remedios for the purpose of organizing the new levies.

The fame of the patriot chief had by this time spread over the length and breadth of the land; his exploits

had reached the mountaineer, among the fastnesses of the Sierra, and had startled the slumbers of the Indian of the south, as he reposed under the shade of the broad-leaved palm, on the burning plains of the Tierra Caliente. The rancheros from the revolted districts hastened to join his standard; and even the prisoners he had taken in battle eagerly united their fortunes to those of the successful rebel. The wealthy and intelligent people of the capital and large cities, who were opposed to the government, congratulated each other upon the appearance of a leader worthy of their esteem and confidence. The mad career of Hidalgo had filled them with horror. Morelos, unwilling to exercise the power fortune had invested him with, had unwisely delegated it to a corrupt Junta, whose avarice was stronger than their patriotism, with whom gold was more potent than the cannon and bayonets of the government. Teran, Guerrero, and Victoria were brave, honest, and able men, but ambition and jealousy had destroyed their hopes, tarnished the glory of their achievements, and disaster, defeat, and death, had crowned the issue of their enterprise. Ossourno and Torres were mere freebooters, whose hands were soiled with the blood of women and children, whose cruelty and extortions had filled the land with mourning. In Mina, the chivalrous, high-souled Mina, who had already filled two hemispheres with his fame, the intelligent patriot beheld the champion under whose banners he could enroll himself, assured of victory; and such, indeed, would have been the case had the patriots risen *en masse*, and declared in his favor; but dreading the power of the Viceroy, they were waiting for Mina to advance upon the capital, when they should have placed themselves under his command at this crisis.

The government of Mexico, alarmed by the continued success of General Mina, resolved to abandon every other measure and concentrate its energies for the destruction

of the formidable chief. The *élite* of the Spanish forces were mustered for this purpose, and placed under the command of the Inspector-General of Mexico, Don Pasqual Linan.

About the middle of July, Mina made an attempt upon Villa de Leon, a fortified town in the Baxio. He advanced toward it in the night, with a force of five hundred men and one piece of cannon, with the intention of taking the place by surprise. A short distance from the town, they encountered a picket-guard, that had been placed upon the road by the enemy, who perceiving their approach, fell back, and gave the alarm. The place was defended by a wall and trenches, and was usually garrisoned by seven hundred troops. As the party drew near the walls they were greeted by a heavy discharge of ordnance and small arms. Forming his men into storming parties, Mina led them to the assault, and succeeded in carrying some of the outward defences, and taking a few prisoners; and the town would have soon been captured, had not the garrison at this moment been reinforced by a division of royalists on the march to Sombrero. This unexpected assistance revived the courage of the besieged, and making a gallant charge, they beat off the rebels, and regained possession of the works. At dawn, on the following morning, Mina drew off his forces and retired to the fortress, with the loss of a hundred men, killed and wounded. Some of the latter were left upon the field, and were put to death by the enemy, while Mina liberated the prisoners who had fallen into his hands during the night.

On the 30th of July, a strong division of royalists, under the command of Don Pasqual Linan, was descried ascending the heights toward the fortress of Sombrero. It was composed of the Spanish regiments of Saragossa and Navarre, the Mexican regiment of Toluca, and the cavalry of San Luis, Queretaro, Sierra Gorda, and Appan,

making thirteen hundred and thirty infantry, and twelve hundred and eleven cavalry. To these were added another division, which, though not engaged in the siege, was a part of Linan's command. The whole amounted to three thousand five hundred and forty-one men. Linan also had ten field-pieces and two howitzers. Sombrero was situated upon the summit of a hill, elevated above the plain of Leon about a thousand feet. On the north was a range of heights, united to the fortress by a narrow pass, skirted by steep precipices. On the eastern side it was bounded by an immense barranca, or ravine, through the bottom of which flowed a rivulet, from which the garrison obtained their supply of water. The southern face of the hill was very steep, and divided below the fort into two promontories, which projected into the plain. On the west the boldness of the ascent presented a formidable impediment to the advance of an enemy. The causeway connecting the fort with the hills was defended by a wall, flanked by cannon, which raked the pass. On the summit of a conical mound, which was situated within the fort, was another piece of ordnance, which also commanded the causeway, which was the entrance to the fort. Seventeen crooked, rough, and misshapen guns were planted upon different parts of the defences. The quarters of the soldiers, the magazine, and hospital, were constructed on the south of the conical hill, and were sheltered by the projecting rocks among which they were built. The garrison of Sombrero consisted of six hundred and fifty men; there were also three hundred women, children, and laborers, who had been employed in repairing the works. Torres had failed to send the promised supplies, and there were but ten days' rations in the fort when the siege began.

The enemy proceeded to invest the fort by surrounding it on all sides. On an elevation, facing the entrance, they raised a battery of seven pieces of ordnance, near

which was the camp of the regiment of Saragossa, and a division of cavalry. At this point Linan established his head-quarters. On the south side, at the bifurcation of the hill, the regiment of Toluca and three hundred horse were intrenched behind a redoubt, mounted by a single piece of artillery. This division was commanded by the brigadier Negrete. The third division, composed of the Navarrese, and three hundred and seventy-nine cavalry, was posted in the barranca. A corps of light troops, under Colonel Rafal, traversed the country between Los Remedios and Sombrero, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the two fortresses. On the 31st, Linan opened a heavy fire of shot and shell from his batteries, which was returned at intervals by the besieged. The firing was kept up for several days without doing much mischief, the people in the fort being sheltered by the conical hill.* On the 5th of August, the Spanish general ordered an assault upon the northern part of the works. His troops were opposed by Mina at the head of the garrison, who repulsed the enemy, notwithstanding they made a gallant effort to carry the place by storm. Retiring behind their batteries, they renewed the contest by throwing a continued stream of shot into the fort.

The sufferings of the besieged soon became intolerable. There was not a drop of water to be procured, except that which was brought from the rivulet at the bottom of the ravine, along which was placed a line of wakeful sentinels. At midnight, when all was silent in the hostile camps, a party of half-famished men would steal, under cover of the darkness, into the barranca, and, after a fierce struggle, succeed in obtaining a partial supply of the invaluable element. The horses and cattle ran mad for the want of it. Sometimes days passed

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

before the soldiers could reach the streamlet, whose waters were more valued than those which flowed over the golden sands of Pactolus. The rainy season had already commenced, but it seemed to rain every where save upon the hill of Sombrero; the clouds, as they hung above their heads, were watched with eager, upturned faces, pale with intense suffering; the women brought the images of their saints and besought of them that aid which God alone could bestow; the heavy masses of vapor discharging a few drops, passed onward, and bursting over the enemy's camp, deluged it with plenteous showers. A few miles off, the sufferers beheld the lake of Lagos; its cool waters, glistening in the sun, seemed to mock their agony. Several of the Mexicans, unable to endure the horrors of the siege, deserted from the fort. The enemy, who could look down upon them from a neighboring height, were acquainted with the condition of the besieged, and kept up a galling fire from their cannon and a company of light troops posted among the rocks. Mina had placed a red flag upon the highest pinnacle of the fortress as a signal of his intention to hold out to the last. Some of Linan's officers, who had formerly enjoyed the friendship of the patriot, sought an interview with him, and endeavored to persuade him to yield; pointing to the flag which floated on the hill, he expressed his resolution to conquer or to die in the struggle to which he had devoted himself. On the night of the 8th Mina made a sortie at the head of two hundred and forty men, and attacking Negrete's position, carried the redoubt behind which he was intrenched; but a portion of his troops refused to advance, and he was forced to retire before a heavy fire, leaving several killed and wounded on the ground. The next day the latter were taken in front of the fort and *strangled* by the orders of the royalist commander.* In the meantime

* Memoirs.

the provisions of the garrison were consumed, and the pangs of hunger were added to those of thirst. The treacherous Torres failed to send the promised supplies, and seemed determined to leave the patriots of Sombrero to their fate. He had made one attempt to relieve them, but falling into an ambush near Silao, his men were routed and cut to pieces.

About the middle of August, Mina left the fortress in the night for the purpose of procuring food for his famishing followers. He was accompanied by the cavalry of his division, under Captains Borjia and Ortez. He soon raised the necessary supplies, and attempted to throw them into the fort, but without success, as every avenue swarmed with the hostile troops. The besieged, reduced to the last extremity, killed their horses, asses, and even their dogs, and greedily devoured them. The murmurs of the women, and the cries of the children, expiring from thirst, were more terrible than the thunder of the enemy's cannon. Some of the men became delirious, and resorted to the last, and most disgusting expedient in order to quench their burning thirst.

In this condition of affairs, Colonel Young, who commanded in Mina's absence, sent a flag to General Linan, offering terms of capitulation. The envoy returned with the ultimatum of the royalist, which was that the foreigners must surrender at discretion. The Mexicans were offered the royal pardon. The sufferings of the women and children softened even the hearts of the enemy, who permitted them to descend into the ravine, but forbid their carrying water to the garrison. The ammunition of the fort was almost exhausted; for several days they had loaded their guns with the enemy's shot, dug out from the side of the hill. The wall which protected the main entrance was battered down, and a fair breach made in the works.

On the 18th of August, Linan again attempted to

storm the fortress. At noonday his infantry, provided with scaling ladders, advanced in three columns upon the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the hill; their bugles sounded the charge, and a black flag, the symbol of extermination, was displayed in their midst. The garrison, reserving their fire, greeted them, when close to the walls, with a discharge of cannon and musketry that sent them back in confusion. A heavy fall of rain rendering the guns useless, the enemy again advanced to the breach; but the shower had passed before they reached the walls, and they were a second time repulsed with great slaughter. In the last attack, Colonel Young, the gallant commandant of the fort, was killed while cheering his men to the fight. The stench of the dead bodies that lay around, exposed to a tropical sun, now rendered the atmosphere too poisonous to be inhaled with safety, and the vultures that hovered above the fatal hill were impatient to begin their horrid banquet. The hospital was filled with the sick and wounded; scarcely a hundred men remained who were able to perform their duty. To attempt a longer defence of the fortress would have been madness. Lieutenant Colonel John Davis Bradburn, who now assumed the command, determined to evacuate the place as soon as possible.

On the night of the 19th of August, 1817, the patriots, now reduced to a few miserable wretches, issued from the fort, and leaving their wounded comrades behind, they descended into the barranca. The hill was wrapped in darkness; not a star shone above to light them on their way; all was silent as the tomb as the fugitives *felt* their passage down the precipitous sides of the ravine. The gleam of the enemy's watch-fires, and the drowsy call of the sentinel, alone indicated the proximity of the foe. As they were pressing onward, the silence which prevailed was suddenly interrupted by the screams of women and children, followed by the rattling of musketry, and

the groans of the wounded and dying. Seized with a panic, the soldiers threw down their weapons and fled, they knew not whither; some of them, bewildered in the darkness, crawled back to the fatal hill, and were taken by the enemy; others, as the day broke, found themselves upon the opposite side of the barranca; but the royalists were on the alert, and many of them were ridden down, or sabred by their cavalry. A few fortunate individuals, favored by a dense fog, made their escape.

General Linan, entering Sombrero, ordered the wounded to be put to death; and after forcing the prisoners to demolish the works that remained, he disposed of them in the same cruel manner. On the 22d, the Spanish general retired to Villa de Leon in triumph.*

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.

CHAPTER VI.

Mina Recruits another Corps — Capture of Bichoco and San Luis — Skirmishing with Orrantia — Linan Besieges Los Remedios — Bombardment of the Fort — Night Attack upon Guanajuato — Cowardice of the Soldiery — Conflagration of the Valenciana Mine — Perfidy of a Mexican Priest — Mina is Surprised and Captured by Orrantia — Barbarity of that Officer — Closing Scene of Mina's Life — Bombardment of Remedios Renewed — Conflicts between the Hostile Forces — Abandonment of the Fort — Horrible Cruelty of the Victors — Surrender of Jauxilla to the Enemy — Noble Conduct of a Spanish Leader.

While these events were in progress at Sombrero, Mina, unable to relieve the garrison, marched to Los Remedios, where he found his compatriot, Torres, busily engaged in preparing his stronghold for a siege. Moved by the earnest solicitations of the former, the padre raised a considerable body of cavalry, and placed them at his disposal. These troops were destitute of discipline, and armed and equipped as it suited their individual fancies: some carried lances of formidable dimensions; others escopetas, lassos, and long knives, with which they did terrible execution when engaged at close quarters; their horses, badly kept and trained, made scarcely as gallant an appearance as themselves:

> "A set of mounted scarecrows,
> So bare, so withered, famished in the march,
> Their executors, the greedy crows,
> Flew o'er their heads, impatient for
> Their lean inheritance."

Mina endeavored to reduce this motley force to some kind of order; he formed them into three squadrons; those armed with escopetas, or carbines, were formed into an advance and rear guard; those provided with lances were placed in the centre.

The patriot left Los Remedios toward the end of August, at the head of nine hundred men, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the army under Linan and the southern provinces. His first movement was against Bicocho, a fortified position, which he took by storm, and put a portion of the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to the village of San Luis de la Paz, then occupied by the enemy. As the division advanced, the royalists took possession of the church and the adjoining cemetery, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, crossed by a drawbridge. Dismounting his cavalry, Mina ordered them to the assault; but unused to this kind of warfare, they recoiled before the fire of the enemy, and took shelter behind some ruined houses, where they remained, in defiance of the threats and commands of their leader. Determined to capture the place, Mina opened a covered way from the ruins to the ditch, and, gaining the drawbridge, the royalists surrendered. Three of the prisoners were put to death; the rest were liberated upon parole.

The general next threatened San Miguel el Grande, but learning that Don Francisco Orrantia was marching toward him with a strong force, he dismissed a part of his guerillas, and hovering upon the enemy's rear, he annoyed them until they entered Irapuato. He then retired to the town of Santiago, where he had appointed a rendezvous.

In the meanwhile Linan, having received reinforcements, advanced against Los Remedios, and commenced the siege on the last day of August. This fortress was situated upon a lofty height, overlooking the plain of

Silao; it was thirty-six miles from the city of Guanajuato, and fifty-four from Sombrero. The regular entrance to the place was by a gateway, defended by cannon, and flanked by precipices of frightful depth. From this point, which was called La Cueva, the place was rendered inaccessible until the road reached a battery above, called Santa Rosalia; a wall extended from the latter to the summit of the hill, which was crowned by a breastwork and two pieces of ordnance; between the gate and the pinnacle of the fort were two other batteries, mounted with one and two guns; near the breastwork was another passage, which led to the plain; in the fort was a well, containing an ample supply of water, and the magazines were filled to overflowing with provisions; a large number of sheep, swine, and horned cattle, had been collected by the provident Torres from the adjacent ranchos; the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred soldiers, which, together with the laborers who had been engaged in repairing the works, and the women and children, swelled the besieged to three thousand souls.

The enemy encamped on the plain in front of the fortress, and taking possession of the adjoining heights, erected a battery of five guns upon one, which commanded the highest point of the works. Below this on the side of the hill, they planted several pieces of heavy cannon which raked the defences from the gateway to the summit. Their light troops occupied every available position upon the opposite verge of the precipice, from whence they annoyed the besieged whenever they exposed themselves. The thunder of great ordnance, and the sharp rattle of musketry proclaimed that the enemy had completed his preparations. The patriots answered their fire with spirit, and for several days the hills re-echoed with the sullen roar of the conflict. Notwithstanding the energy with which he poured in his fire, Linan discovered at the end of a fortnight, that he had made but a slight impression

upon the fort. Becoming impatient, he resolved to attempt an assault. On the 20th of September his columns advanced toward the wall under cover of a tremendous discharge of heavy missiles. They were met by the garrison, and after a gallant contest of three hours they were repulsed with a severe loss. The royalist commander next attempted to blow up the works, but the mine exploded and killed the engineers. His guns having effected a breach in the wall which stretched along the side of the hill, he endeavored to enter it at the point of the bayonet, but without success; the besieged displaying a phalanx more impenetrable than the firmest rampart. Drawing off his troops, Linan retired to his camp, mortified by the issue of his enterprise. The patriots elated with their victory, sallied out in the night, and assailing the besiegers in front and rear, drove them from an intrenchment, and spiked the cannon which had threatened the destruction of some of their best defences. Linan who had learned to respect the valor of his adversaries, contented himself with keeping up a heavy fire, and carefully guarding against a surprise from Mina, who was intercepting his supplies, and cutting off all his resources, passing here and there with the rapidity of a veteran guerilla.

On the 10th of October, Orrantia left his cantonments at Irapuata, and advanced to the hacienda of La Caja, then occupied by Mina, with a force of eleven hundred men. The place was surrounded by a wall, having a small gate upon one side; posting a part of his men here, and another upon an eminence in the rear, Mina placed his main body on either hand of the road in a field of corn. Orrantia attacking the party at the gate drove them within, and entering after them took up a position in the enclosure. The patriot leader now charged with two hundred and fifty men; at this moment a squadron of cavalry came up and the rear guard becoming alarmed, turned and fled, leaving their chief alone, who was forced, however reluc-

tantly to retire, or to fight against overwhelming numbers. Learning from some inhabitants of Guanajuato who were of the patriot party, that the enemy received a large portion of their supplies from that city, General Mina resolved to capture that ancient and opulent town. He communicated his design to Torres, who disapproved of it, asserting that the only way to raise the siege of Remedios was to attack the Spanish camp. From the small number of troops at his disposal, and the strength of the enemy's position, Mina was not prepared to risk an engagement with Linan, and therefore declared his intention of carrying out his original purpose. Torres, rejoiced at the opportunity of thwarting the man he hated, ordered his satellites to withdraw their forces unless an assault was made upon the besiegers. Closely followed by Orrantia, the patriot leader reached La Mina de la Luz on the night of the 23d of October. It was a solitary spot among the mountains; here he was joined by a reinforcement which swelled his force to thirteen hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry. The city of Guanajuato is situated on the Sierra Santa Rosa; it was founded in 1545, and invested with the privileges of a city in 1741. Its population at the time of Mina's attempt upon it, was about thirty-five thousand souls. Near it were some of the most productive mines of Mexico; from 1756 to 1803, it was computed that they yielded one hundred and sixty-five millions of piastres.

Surrounded by lofty and rugged mountains, the city is concealed from view until you enter the defile of Marfil. The streets are narrow and tortuous, following the windings of the ravine in which it is built. A stream of water flows through the town, which sometimes rises to a dangerous elevation.

Descending the heights about eleven o'clock, the advance of Mina's division entered the defile, halting until the main body came up; they moved on in silence, only interrupted by the sentinels calling out the *aleota*. About

midnight, they surprised and captured an outpost, but not before the alarm was given. The garrison of the place opened a fire upon them, which, owing to the darkness, did no great mischief. Mina ordered his men to press on; but, instead of obeying, they stood irresolute, insensible to the entreaties or commands of their leader. Daylight found them in this position, and fearing the advance of Orrantia, Mina was forced to retreat. He dismissed his followers in disgust, after bitterly reproaching his officers, to whose cowardice he attributed his failure.

During the retreat, Captain Encarnacion Ortiz ascended the heights, and in imitation of he that "fired the Ephesian dome," wantonly set fire to the works of the famous Valenciana mines, which yielded an annual revenue of half a million of dollars. This act of Vandalism provoked the general, one of whose fixed principles it was, to respect the property of private individuals. Retaining a small escort, Mina retired to the rancho of El Venadito,—then occupied by his friend Don Mariano Herrera, whose estates had been laid waste by Orrantia, and who had been obliged to ransom his life by the payment of twenty thousand dollars. These injuries served to confirm his hatred toward the minions of the ungrateful prince who ruled the destinies of his country.

As Mina passed through a small pueblo, he was saluted by the village priest, who inquired his destination. Aware of the treacherous character of the brotherhood, he respectfully evaded the question. The padre, suspecting his route, mounted his mule in haste, and posting to Silao, informed Orrantia of the probable termination of his march. When Mina arrived at the rancho, he ordered his cavalry to turn their horses into the fields, and to encamp upon a small plain in advance of the farm-house.

It had always been the custom of the general to share the hardships of his men, in camp and bivouac, but this night he slept apart from them in the dwelling of his

friend. At the dawn of day, on the 27th of October, 1817, Orrantia entered the retired valley in which the unsuspecting patriots were reposing, and charging upon them with his squadrons, put them to flight. Awakened by the noise, Mina rushed, half-dressed and unarmed, from the house, and perceived his followers flying in all directions, pursued by the enemy. He endeavored to rally them;—careless of his own danger, he was calling to them to halt, when he was overtaken by a dragoon, and forced to yield himself into the hands of his deadly foes. Orrantia, elated by his success, could not refrain from insulting him, and even forgot himself so far as to beat his unarmed and pinioned prisoner with his sword!*

"I regret," said the fallen chief, "being a prisoner, but to fall into the hands of one regardless of his character as a soldier and a Spaniard, renders the misfortune doubly keen."

Fourteen of Mina's escort were taken and massacred upon the spot; among these was Don Pedro Moreno, the former commandant of Sombrero, whose head was stricken from his body and raised upon a pole. Mina was carried to Silao, where he was treated as no brave man would treat a gallant enemy. Shortly afterwards, he was sent to Linan's camp, before Remedios. The capture of the distinguished rebel was regarded by the government as the most important event of the war. Te Deums were sung in the churches, illuminations, bon-fires, and volleys of cannon proclaimed the triumph of the royalists throughout the land.

On the 11th of November, 1817, Mina, attended by a guard, advanced with an undaunted bearing to the place of execution; and charging the soldiers to take good aim, he added, calmly, "Do not let me suffer." The signal was given, and the soul of the gallant warrior, rudely divorced

* Memoirs of the Revolution.

from his body, took its flight into the regions of the unknown future. When the tidings of Mina's fall reached Spain, Ferdinand rewarded the dragoon who had captured him with a pension, decorated Linan and Orrantia with military crosses, and created Apodaca *Condé del Venadito.*

The siege of Remedios had now continued two months and a half, and still the place held out in defiance of a constant fire poured into its defences. Throwing the whole weight of their shot upon the curtain that extended from Santa Rosalia to the breastwork upon the summit of the hill, the enemy succeeded in making a breach in it, on the morning of the 16th of November. Calling out to the besieged, to "confess themselves, for their hour was come," the royalists, about noon, advanced, in four divisions, against the gateway at La Cueva, the breastwork, and the breach in the wall. In front of their columns, the ominous black flag waved its gloomy folds, announcing to the garrison their fate, if they were vanquished.

Protected by their batteries, the assailants marched up boldly in the face of a scathful discharge of grape and musketry, until within twenty paces of the walls, when they paused. A few desperately brave spirits, throwing themselves in front, leaped into the breach, and were transfixed upon the bayonets of the besieged. Among those who thus devoted themselves, was the officer who bore the black ensign. Begrimed with smoke and powder, with unshaven beards, and bloodshot eyes lit up with the fierce passions that moved them, the patriots, like so many devils, charged through the broken wall, and falling upon the Spanish infantry, as they stood irresolute, drove them in confusion down the hill. As they descended in disorder, the peons and women of the fort rolled huge rocks upon their heads, crushing and mutilating many of the fugitives struggling through the narrow pass. The sides of the barranca were covered with the dead and wounded, amounting to more than three hundred and fifty men.

The defenders of the fortress also suffered severely in this attack. Fearful that his army would become completely demoralized, if they sustained such another defeat, General Lanan again endeavored to blow up the works, but met with no great success. Resuming his cannonading with vigor, the enemy wasted five or six weeks in the fruitless effort to batter down the stronghold.

At the close of December, the besieged discovered, to their consternation, that their stock of ammunition was nearly expended. In order to obtain a supply, a party of three hundred men sallied from the fort in the night, and, storming the hostile batteries, returned in triumph. The place had now held out four months; Mina slept with the dead; his dispersed followers could render them no assistance in raising the siege; their hospital was filled with wounded; their ammunition was exhausted, and the only hope of salvation was to evacuate the position without delay.

It is the custom of the Mexicans, when passing the watchword at night, to cry out at the top of their voices—"*centinela alerta.*" The last note of this is usually prolonged into a dismal howl, not unlike that of a wolf, and can be heard at a great distance. This practice was discontinued by the besieged, so that its absence might not be remarked after they had left the fort; it unfortunately had the effect of arousing the suspicions of the enemy. On the night of the 1st of January, 1818, the inhabitants of Remedios, men, women, and children, assembled at the breastwork, near the summit of the hill; and after bidding adieu to their wounded friends, whom they were compelled to leave behind, they filed through the narrow passage and groped their way in utter darkness down the heights. The advance guard coming suddenly upon a picket placed directly in their path, they were obliged to force a passage by pouring a volley of musketry into the ranks of those who opposed them. The alarm was instantly

given to the whole camp. Their bugles and drums echoed through the ravines; suddenly the darkness was dispersed by large fires, which blazed up on all sides, lighting up the rugged precipices, and throwing a lurid glare over the deserted fortress and the adjoining hills, revealing the flying patriots to their pursuers, who fell upon them and cut them down without mercy; the shrill cry of women, and the shrieks of men, mingled with the roll of musketry, as the poor victims plead for quarter. Choking up the barranca in their efforts to escape, they trampled upon each other; while from the heights above, volley after volley was discharged into the struggling mass. Those who were yet upon the hill were charged upon by the enemy's bayonets, and fell headlong from the precipice, crushing their companions in their fall.

All at once, a piercing yell arose, which drowned all other sounds; and looking back upon the hill of Remedios the fugitives who survived beheld the fortress wrapped in a sheet of flame. The royalists had set the place on fire, and the hospital, filled with their wounded comrades, was consuming before their eyes. As the poor wretches attempted to extricate themselves from the conflagration, they were thrust back into the flames by their pitiless adversaries, whose exulting shouts, as they danced around the burning pile, proclaimed their demoniacal joy. As the day dawned upon this dreadful scene, its light revealed a shocking spectacle, disgraceful to humanity. The ravine, the neighboring hills, and the plain, were covered with the bodies of the fugitives. The women who had been captured, were given up to the soldiery, and consigned to a fate more horrible than death; while the men were shot down like dogs, some of them shouting as they fell, Viva la Republica!

Misfortunes never come alone, but follow each other like the waves of the sea, whose shores are covered with the wrecks of many a noble enterprise. The capture of

Los Remedios was followed by that of Jauxilla. This fortress was situated in the midst of a small lake, and its defences were sufficiently strong to hold out against any ordinary force. It was besieged by a division of one thousand men, under Colonel Matius y Aguirre, one of the few royalist leaders who retained the feelings of a gentleman, during the demoralizing scenes of the civil wars. The fortress was defended with energy and perseverance for a period of three months; its garrison consisted of a mere handful of men, among whom were two Americans and the members of the patriot junta. It was not until they began to suffer the want of ammunition and food, that they listened to the terms of capitulation offered by Aguirre, which were both honorable and liberal. After the surrender of the place, the prisoners were disarmed and liberated. The two Americans were with difficulty saved from death by the Spanish leader, who nobly exerted himself in their behalf with the government of Mexico, and wrung a reluctant assent to his earnest entreaties from the Viceroy.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Dispersion of the Guerillas — Exploits of El Giro — Appointment of Arago to the Supreme Command — Death of Lieutenant Wolfe — Guerrero entrenches himself on the Pacific — Pacification of Mexico — End of the War — Treaty of 1819 — Permission granted for Anglo-Americans to Settle in the Mexican Territory.

The fall of Mina, and the massacre of Los Remedios, followed by the surrender of Jauxilla, completed the triumph of the Mexican government. The patriots, driven from their strongholds, retired to the mountains, and concealed themselves among inaccessible rocks and yawning barrancas. Occasionally small parties of them would descend into the plain, and falling upon an unprotected village, pillage its inhabitants, and retire with their booty to the hills. Among those who distinguished themselves in this kind of warfare were Torres, and Andreas Delgado, known by the *sobriquet* of El Giro. The latter was an Indian, full of fire and energy, and had displayed no ordinary talents as a guerilla captain. Torres still hovered near his dismantled fortress, exercising his usual tyranny over the people within his jurisdiction, burning villages and haciendas at pleasure, and even slaying such of his partisans whose fidelity he suspected. He was closely

pursued by the royalists, who were, however, unable to capture the cunning priest.

In April, 1818, the patriot Junta met at the pueblo of Puruandiro, and held a formal consultation with the military chiefs of their party. General Torres was denounced before the assembly, and degraded from his rank as commander-in-chief of the forces, and commandant-general of Guanajuato. Don Juan Arago, formerly an aid-de-camp to Mina, was appointed in his stead. Torres retired from the town resolving to support his claims by a resort to arms. On the 28th of April, as he was marching across the country at the head of fifteen hundred men, he encountered a party of four hundred royalists near the rancho of Frijoles; the padre, putting spurs to his horse instantly fled, followed by his cavalry, leaving a small body of infantry, under Lieutenant Wolfe, to fight their way through the enemy; retiring to the shelter of a wood, they defended themselves with desperate courage, until every man was slain but one. Colonel Bustamente, who commanded the royalists, allowed his men to sever the head of Wolfe from his body, and bear it before them as a trophy of their victory.

During the summer of 1818, Torres, by his intrigues, fomented dissensions among the patriot leaders, who, arrayed against each other, were unable to resist the enemy, whose troops now occupied the whole country. Several rencounters took place between Arago and Torres, who was assisted by Ortiz and Borjia; the latter was always worsted. In September, the royalist cut off the padre's supplies, and he was compelled to resign his pretensions; and thenceforth he lived in obscurity, under the protection of his former officer, Encarnacion Ortiz.

The affairs of the patriots continued to decline; the government troops prevented the junction of the few partisan corps yet in the field. El Giro was routed, taken prisoner, and shot. Arago was destitute of resources,

and compelled to abandon his plans for meeting the enemy. The only leader that seemed superior to the fortune of his compatriots was Don Vicente Guerrero, who having retired from the mountains of the Misteca before a superior force, entered the Tierra Caliente of Valladolid. In November, with a party of eighty men, he attacked a division of four hundred royalists, and put them to rout. His boldness and decision insured his success, and he soon obtained possession of a greater part of the province. The Viceroy dispatched a powerful force against Guerrero under General Negrete, who advanced to the Rio Zacatula, upon the bank of which the patriots were encamped. Afraid of crossing the stream, both armies remained opposite each other for some time, when the enemy began to suffer from the pestilential atmosphere of the swamps which surrounded their camp, and were obliged to retreat to the city of Valladolid. Guerrero, whose force was daily increasing, continued to hold the country on the Pacific in defiance of government. In the month of February, the junta was surprised by a hostile party, and the president, Don Jose Pagola, and his secretary were taken prisoners, and put to death. The revolutionary chiefs retired to the Zacatula, where they continued to exercise their functions under the protection of Guerrero.

Colonel Bradburn, who had escaped from the disasters which had overtaken his companions, had sought a shelter in the defile of Huango, north of the capital of Valladolid; where in conjunction with General Huesta, he organized a division of infantry. The latter from a feeling of jealousy refused to furnish Bradburn with a full supply of arms, and he was compelled to hold his position during the winter of 1818, with a hundred men. In March, 1819, General Lara marched against him with fifteen hundred troops. Bradburn fled to the mountains, but was pursued and his force was cut to pieces; their leader escaped with

a small remnant of his division. Huesta, who had a body of four hundred cavalry under his command at the time, was also forced to retire from the field without even striking a blow. Of the whole of Mina's followers there were not more than half a dozen individuals who still lived. All had been removed either by the sword, disease, or famine. During the year 1819, but few events of interest transpired in Mexico, but such as have been related. The whole country was in the hands of the government; every town, hacienda, and pueblo in the revolted provinces, was garrisoned by the king's troops, except that portion of Valladolid occupied by Guerrero. The mongrel population, disheartened by the disasters which had befallen their leaders, sunk back into the servile condition they had formerly held. But the pause which had succeeded the turmoil of civil strife, was but the deceitful lull in the tempest, which ere long was to burst forth, and sweep from the land every vestige of Spanish power. The Mexicans in their contests with the royalists had perceived the weakness of Spain, which like a decrepit veteran, unconscious of the loss of power, still grasped the sword in her trembling hands, and endeavored to punish her rebellious children, who despising her feeble efforts, laughed her impotent threats to scorn.

It was during this period of apparent pacification, that Spain ceded Florida to the United States, by a treaty signed at Washington, February 22d, 1819, by Don Luis de Onis, and John Q. Adams. At the same time the boundary between Mexico and the territory of Louisiana was settled, by the negotiators agreeing to recognize the river Sabine as the limit between the respective countries. By this treaty, the United States voluntarily surrendered the claims they undoubtedly possessed upon the province of Texas, that country having formed a portion of the territory of Louisiana when it was ceded to the States by the treaty

of Paris in 1803.* As early as the year 1805, General Wilkinson, the commander-in-chief of the American forces in the south-west, had consented to recognize the Sabine as the *military* boundary between the Spanish colonies and the domain of the republic. Wilkinson acted in this affair upon his own responsibility, and had no more right to define the limits of Louisiana than he had those of Peru. Yet to this error of the American general may be referred the difficulties which have given rise to the Texan revolution, and which has since plunged Mexico into a ruinous and sanguinary war with her former friend and ally of the north.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty of Washington, Moses Austin applied to the viceregal government of Mexico for a grant of land for the purpose of founding a colony of Americans in the wilderness of Texas. Through the influence of the Baron de Bastrop, then residing at Bexar, Austin obtained the grant with permission to settle three hundred families upon certain conditions. The grant was obtained January 17th, 1821; a few days after its reception Austin died, and his son Stephen F. Austin prosecuted the enterprise. In July the latter entered Texas and explored the country, and in December of the same year began a settlement on the Brazos river.

It had ever been the policy of Spain to exclude foreigners from her transatlantic possessions; nor were her rulers unaware of the danger her colonies were exposed to by their contiguity to the American States. General Salcedo is said to have expressed a desire to prevent even the birds from flying across the frontier between the two countries, lest the Mexicans should become infected with the political sentiments of their neighbors. The fact of Austin's obtaining his grant was an indication of the weakness of the parent state, or the

* Marbois' History of Louisiana.

spread of liberal principles; for there is no instance in the history of nations of a free people voluntarily subjecting themselves to the will of a despot by emigrating to his territories. Mexico had already assumed an independent position; and it would have been as easy to have extinguished the fires of Orizava or Popocatepetl, with the snows upon their summits, as to have impeded the onward progress of the revolution, when once begun: "The people," says the profound Sully, "never revolt in jest, but always with good and sufficient reason."

CHAPTER II.

Revolution in Spain — Its effect upon Mexico — Preparations of the Viceroy — Opposition of the Clergy to the Decree of the Cortes ordering the Sequestration of the Church Property — Conspiracy of Iturbide — Plan of Iguala — Spread of the Revolt — Apodaca is Deposed by his own Party — March of Victoria upon the Capital — Iturbide enters Puebla — Arrival of O'Donoju — Treaty of Cordova — Independence of Mexico.

During the summer of 1820, intelligence was received in Mexico of the revolt of the Spanish army on the Isle of Leon, and the subsequent revolution, caused by the tyranny of the King; and shortly afterwards the Viceroy received an order from the Cortes of Spain to proclaim the Constitution, to which Ferdinand had been compelled to swear, sorely against his will. Accompanying this mandate was a decree of the Cortes ordering the sequestration of the property of the Mexican Church. A true subject to his prince, and an enemy to revolutions, Don Juan Apodaca resolved to resist the commands of the Cortes; he accordingly hastened to levy troops throughout the country for the ostensible purpose of protecting it against the rebels, but in reality they were destined to keep the friends of the constitution in check. The opposition of the clergy being aroused by the impolitic decree, which threatened to deprive them of their hoarded treasures, the Viceroy soon found himself in a critical position. Aided by the Spanish generals, Apodaca prepared to sustain himself in the discharge of what he con-

ceived to be his duty toward his sovereign. The people of Mexico, who had received many injuries from the Cortes, were not disposed to declare in their favor. The native nobility and opulent Spaniards united with the Viceroy, and determined to support the king, and preserve his Mexican dominions as an asylum to which he could retire in future from the persecutions of his enemies. Thus the people, the clergy, and the aristocracy, were arrayed against the Cortes, each moved by a different motive. The Mexican bishops, with their usual selfishness, resolved to throw their influence in favor of the party upon whose protection they could rely in case the government should attempt to enforce the decree leveled at themselves.

The officer who commanded the western division of the army at this crisis was General Armigo, who, being a staunch liberal, was of course a supporter of the constitution. The force under this personage occupied a position midway between the capital and the Pacific, and had been placed there to prevent the advance of Guerrero, who had established himself at the Orilla de Zacatula, on the right bank of the river, a short distance from its mouth, where it empties into the ocean. Armigo was therefore recalled to Mexico, and in an evil hour Don Augustin Iturbide was appointed to succeed him. This individual had been the bitter enemy of the patriots, and had distinguished himself by his zeal and devotion to the viceregal government; he had commanded the advance guard of General Llano's army at the battle of Puruaran, in 1813, and contributed, in no slight degree, to overthrow the rebels in that campaign; he had not, however, taken an active part in the late commotions which had disturbed the tranquillity of the state, but had lived in the capital: "in a society not remarkable for strict morality, he was distinguished for his immorality:" his reputation was not without blemishes; he had some

talent, and was quick, bold and resolute in carrying out his schemes, and careless of the means he made use of to consummate his purposes. Such was the man in whose hands the destiny of Mexico was placed.

Iturbide left Mexico in February, 1821, with orders to march against Guerrero, and crush him at a blow. He was also ordered to take charge of a quantity of the public treasure, amounting to half a million of dollars, which had been deposited at a place called Iguala, about a hundred and twenty miles from the capital. Before he departed for the army, Iturbide entered into a conspiracy with the clergy, and leaders of the patriot party, who had united against the government, and were determined to achieve the independence of Mexico. The rural priesthood were immediately set to work, and in conjunction with the agents of the conspirators, soon aroused the slumbering passions of the people. General Guerrero, who had been informed of the intended revolution, broke up his camp on the Zacatula, and marched to join Iturbide. The formerly hostile battalions arriving at Iguala, mingled together like the waters of two friendly streams, destined to flow thenceforth in one direction.

On the 23d of February, 1821, Iturbide seized upon the treasure, and on the following day proposed to the revolutionary chiefs the political scheme known as the plan of Iguala. This document is as follows:

"ARTICLE I. The Mexican nation is independent of the Spanish nation, and of every other, even upon its own continent.

"ART. II. The religion shall be the Catholic, which all its inhabitants profess.

"ART. III. They shall be united without any distinctions between Americans and Europeans.

"ART. IV. The government shall be a constitutional monarchy

"ART. V. A Junta shall be named, consisting of individuals who

enjoy the highest reputation in the different parties which have shown themselves.

"ART. VI. This Junta shall be presided over by his excellency the *Condé del Venadito*, the present Viceroy of Mexico.

"ART. VII. It shall govern in the name of the laws now in force, and its first duty shall be to convoke—according to such rules as it may deem expedient—a congress, for the formation of a constitution more suitable to the condition of the country.

"ART. VIII. His majesty, Ferdinand VII., shall be invited to the throne of the empire, and in case of his refusal, the infantes Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula.

"ART. IX. Should his majesty, Ferdinand, and his august brothers, decline the invitation, the nation is at liberty to invite to the imperial dignity any member of reigning families it may select.

"ART. X. The formation of the constitution, and the oath of the emperor to observe it, must precede his entry into the country.

"ART. XI. The distinction of castes is abolished, which was made by the Spanish law, excluding them from the rights of citizenship.

"ART. XII. An army shall be organized for the maintenance of *religion*, *independence*, and *union*, guaranteeing these three principles, it shall be called the Army of the Guarantees.

"ART. XIII. It shall solemnly swear to defend the fundamental doctrines of this plan.

"ART. XIV. It shall strictly observe the military ordinances now in force.

"ART. XV. There shall be no other promotions than those due to seniority, or which shall be for the good of the service.

"ART. XVI. This army shall be considered as of the line.

"ART. XVII. The old partisans of independence who shall give in their adhesion to this plan, shall be received into this army.

"ART. XVIII. The patriots and peasants who shall acknowledge the plan hereafter, shall be enrolled as militia.

"ART. XIX. The secular and regular clergy shall be protected in their rights.

"ART. XX. All the public functionaries—civil, military, ecclesiastical, and political—who adhere to the cause of independence, shall be continued in office, without distinction between Mexicans and Europeans.

"ART. XXI. Those functionaries, of whatever degree or condition, who dissent from the cause of independence, shall be divested of their offices, and shall leave the territories of the empire, taking with them their families and effects.

"ART. XXII. The military commandants shall be guided by general instructions in conformity with this plan, which shall be sent to them.

"ART. XXIII. No accused person shall be put to death by the military commandants. Those accused of treason against the nation, which is the next greatest crime after that of treason against the Divine Ruler, shall be conveyed to the fortress of Barrabas, where they shall remain until the Congress shall decree the punishment which ought to be inflicted upon them.

"ART. XXIV. It being indispensable to the welfare of the country that this plan should be carried into effect, inasmuch as the good of that country is its object, every individual of the army shall maintain it—if it be necessary—even to the shedding of the last drop of his blood!"

This plan was approved by the leaders of the revolt assembled at Iguala, and copies of it were transmitted to all the commandants-general of the provinces, the officers of the different garrisons throughout Mexico, and to the Viceroy, and all the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. When the revolution began, the force under Iturbide was but eight hundred strong, while that at the disposal of the government consisted of eleven European regiments, seven veteran corps, and seventeen native regiments. The Viceroy also had possession of the revenues of the state; Iturbide, on the contrary, was destitute of all resources, excepting the treasure he had seized at Iguala, and those he counted would flow from the contributions of his partisans. In his communication to Apodaca, Itur-

bide informed him that Guerrero and his followers had accepted the act of amnesty, proclaimed by the government, and were therefore to be regarded as enemies no longer.

On the ensuing 1st day of March, Iturbide, calling his officers together, submitted to them his future plans for carrying out the revolution so happily begun, and requesting their support. His partisans hailed his schemes with shouts of applause, and besought him to lead them at once upon the capital. Iturbide, having secured the officers, had no difficulty in bringing over the soldiers to his cause. On the 2d of March the army solemnly swore to maintain the plan of Iguala. After this ceremony their leader addressed them to the following effect:

"Soldiers, you have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans, to effect the independence of this empire; and on certain conditions to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; and your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens, and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant-general you would have conferred upon me: to-day I renounce this distinction, (tearing from his sleeve the insignia of his rank as colonel.) To be ranked as your companion fills all my ambitious desires."

The defection of Iturbide and the troops under his command filled the Viceroy with astonishment and alarm. But, recovering from his panic, he prepared for defence, resolving to defeat the plans of the traitors by marching against them before they became too formidable. He had now, however, to contend against an influence which had heretofore supported him through all the trials of his administration; an influence more potent than that of the Cortes, the king, or the array of embattled hosts. The clergy now deserted him, and threw their weight into

the opposite scale. Through their intrigues the Viceroy was deposed, and Francisco Novella, an officer of artillery, was placed at the head of the government. This personage was unable to stay the rapid advance of the revolutionary movement, which soon extended throughout the country: for, although the plan did not meet the peculiar views of all parties, yet the mass of the nation were too careless and ignorant to investigate its details or to examine its principles. It had met the approbation of their leaders and spiritual guardians, and they accepted it without scrutinizing its faults or demurring at its provisions. The Spaniards objected to the plan, because it provided for the establishment of a congress with power to control the monarch; while the intelligent portion of the Creoles were dissatisfied with the prospect of receiving a prince of the house of Bourbon as their ruler. The small number of these malcontents rendered their opposition harmless, and with the exception of a feeble show of resistance in some of the provinces, the revolution was effected without bloodshed and almost without a dissenting voice. And in one short month the richest jewel in the crown of Spain was lost to her proud monarchs forever.

The struggles through which the nation had passed during the last ten years, had doubtless prepared the Mexicans for the change which had so suddenly taken place. The revolution had been slowly advancing toward the point it had now reached, from the hour when Hidalgo, proclaiming death to the Spaniard, had fired the brand of civil war among the hills of Guanajuato. Earnestly desiring to break the chains which bound them to the parent state, in whose councils they had no voice, from whose decrees there was no appeal, the people still determined to adhere to the family of their hereditary rulers, and while they defied the government they laid the crown of Mexico at the feet of the prince. The great

secret of this revolution, so easily achieved, yet so important in its results, is to be referred to the decree of the Cortes against the property of the church. Iturbide was merely the instrument of the exasperated ecclesiastics of the viceroyalty, whose vengeance being aroused, were prepared to sacrifice the tranquillity of the country rather than submit to be robbed by the state.

From Iguala, the armies of the Guarantees marched to the Baxio, where they received every hour an addition to their forces, both from the inhabitants of that fertile district and the guerillas of the neighboring hills. Among others who joined the revolt at this time, was Guadalupe Victoria, who had concealed himself in the mountains of Vera Cruz for the last five years, and now came forth like one arisen from the grave to witness the independence of his country. He gave in his adhesion to the plan, at San Juan del Rio, and was warmly greeted by the patriots, whose hearts he had won by his valor, activity, and devotion to their cause. To these virtues he added the important qualification of being a most enthusiastic Catholic, having ever been distinguished for his observance of the forms of the Romish ritual. Iturbide next advanced to the city of Queretaro, which opened its gates to receive him. At this place the revolutionary forces were formed into two divisions, one of which was placed under the command of Victoria, with orders to march upon the capital. The other, led by the general-in-chief in person, moving rapidly to the south-east, appeared suddenly before Puebla de los Angeles, the second city in Mexico. The bishop of the province being a partisan of the revolution, through his influence this place surrendered without a blow.

In the meanwhile Novella suffered the revolt to take its course, scarcely making an effort to resist its progress. The people of the capital anxiously awaited the advance of Victoria to hail him as their deliverer. The colors of

the three Guarantees became the fashion, and red, white, and green, were displayed openly in every street of the city, and in the great square under the windows of the Viceregal palace. In some of the towns the inhabitants carried their enthusiasm so far as to paint their houses with the popular colors. The affairs of Mexico were in this condition, when General Juan O'Donoju landed at Vera Cruz, in August, 1821, armed with powers to supersede Apodaca as Viceroy. The government of Spain supposing that the disturbances had been quelled in the country, were unprepared to meet the crisis. O'Donoju was therefore utterly confounded when he learned that Mexico was not only revolutionized, but actually claimed to be an independent state. Unprovided with troops or money, the new Viceroy at once perceived the inutility of attempting to stem the current which set so strongly against the mother country. He found that the only course left for him to pursue was either to return to Spain, or to enter into negotiations with the revolutionary chief, whose troops were hourly increasing, and even then held possession of every avenue leading to the interior. In this dilemma O'Donoju determined to make the best of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed; he doubtless had some knowledge of the instability of the Mexican character, or perhaps he had observed the singular mutations that so often occur in a revolutionary country where the masses, without a leading spirit to control their waywardness, or the light of a fixed principle to guide them through the turmoil of a political convulsion, often throw themselves in despair into the arms of the very power from which they had so eagerly sought to free themselves. General O'Donoju resolved to open a negotiation with Iturbide without delay. He began by issuing a manifesto to the people of Mexico, which was replete with liberal and generous sentiments towards them, congratulating them upon the successful issue of the rebellion. This extraordinary

document emanating from that once dreaded personage, a Spanish Viceroy, whose predecessors were accustomed to assume the power and state of a sovereign prince, astonished, while it overjoyed the patriots who now beheld their triumph complete. O'Donoju was invited to meet the great conspirator and hold a solemn conference with him at Cordova, a town in the vicinity. The parties met, and after a brief and amicable discussion, a treaty was signed on the 24th of August, 1821, by Iturbide and O'Donoju; the latter well aware that the government of Spain would not sanction his unauthorized proceeding. In this treaty the Viceroy recognized the plan of Iguala, as the basis of the constitution of the future Mexican empire, which was declared a free and independent state, under that designation. It was further stipulated that commissioners should be dispatched to Spain immediately, to lay the imperial diadem at the feet of Ferdinand VII., or the other Bourbon princes, in case he refused to accept the proposal.

In the interim, the country was to be governed by a junta, who were to nominate an executive. Of this junta, O'Donoju readily consented to become a member, and guaranteed the evacuation of the capital by the king's troops, who yet maintained possession of the city. Persuaded by the Viceroy, who was the legal representative of their sovereign, the garrison marched out with the honors of war, and encamped at Toluca.

On the 27th of September, Iturbide and O'Donoju entered Mexico together, amid the joyful acclamations of the people, who hailed them as their deliverers. In accordance with the treaty of Cordova, a junta consisting of thirty-six persons was organized, by whom a regency of five members was appointed. The executive power was lodged in the latter branch of the government. Iturbide was chosen president of it, with the additional title of admiral of the navy and generalissimo of the army. His annual salary was fixed at one hundred and twenty

thousand dollars. At this crisis General O'Donoju died, to the great regret of all parties. His conduct had met the approbation of every patriot, and even challenged the admiration of the friends of the king. Those who wished the re-establishment of the old system, alone regarded him as an enemy, and did not scruple to denounce him as a traitor, both to the monarch and the Cortes of Spain.

CHAPTER III.

Difficulties of the New Government — Conspiracy of Bravo and Victoria — The Deputies swear to support the Plan — Factions in Congress — Intrigues of Iturbide — Financial difficulties of the Nation — Reduction of the Standing Army, and the increase of the Militia — Iturbide's Ambition — Nocturnal Tumult — Conduct of the Mexican Mob — Meeting of the Deputies — Election of the Emperor — The fifteen honest Representatives.

The most important subject demanding the attention of the Provisional Government of Mexico, was the convocation of the Congress; Iturbide submitted a *projet*, in which it was proposed to divide that body into separate houses. The upper house was to be composed of twelve ecclesiastics, the same number of officers from the army of the Guarantees; one member from the *Ayuntamientos** of the different cities; and one from each supreme court of judicature. The lower house was to consist of representatives to be chosen by the people in the ratio of one member for every fifty thousand souls. The junta rejected this plan, but adopted another in which the same proportion of representation to population was retained. It was also provided that in the event of any province having more than four deputies, one of them should be an ecclesiastic, one a military man, and one a civilian, in order that the whole body of the people might have a voice in the national councils.

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* Municipal Councils.

This organization of the government did not meet with the approbation of all the revolutionary chiefs, and a faction headed by Nicholas Bravo and Victoria conspired to force the junta to adopt the form of election prescribed by the Spanish constitution. This conspiracy was discovered, and Bravo, Victoria, and several of their accomplices were arrested, as they were about to carry their designs into effect, and consigned to a prison.

The members of the junta were, with a few exceptions, elected deputies to the Congress which assembled at the capital on the 24th of February, 1822. Before taking their seats, the representatives marched in solemn procession to the great cathedral of Mexico, (which is built on the ruins of the temple of Mexitli), and there bound themselves by a sacred oath, to maintain inviolate the several articles of the plan of Iguala. As if determined to perjure themselves beyond the hope of redemption, these worthy senators confirmed their oath, by voting in favor of each separate article isolated from the body of the plan. This ceremony was succeeded by the solemn and imposing rites of the Roman Church, calculated to impress the minds of those who hold that faith with awe and reverence. Yet in spite of all this, these individuals did not scruple to break their oaths, almost before the ink had dried upon the parchment which recorded their infamy.

Being duly installed in their seats, the members proceeded to open the session in a formal manner; but such was the ignorance of this august body, that not one of them was conversant with the usual mode of conducting business in legislative assemblies! This proved a serious obstacle to the dispatch of the many important questions submitted to their consideration. Remarkably ceremonious in their social intercourse, the Mexican deputies spent week after week in discussing matters of etiquette, while the affairs of the government remained in the greatest disorder. To increase the inefficiency of the Congress, it

soon became divided into factions, each one striving to attain the supremacy, in order to advance their own peculiar views, under cover of measures brought forward for the public good. The friends of Iturbide, who were devoted to their leader, wished to elevate him to the supreme authority, in order that they might share in the spoils of office, and the numberless favors of wealth and rank it would be in his power to bestow. The Bourbonists, on the contrary, were bitterly opposed to Iturbide, and sincerely desirous of carrying out the stipulations of the plan of Iguala, particularly that part of it relating to the investment of the power in the person of Ferdinand, or some prince of his royal house. There were many enlightened and patriotic men among the Bourbonists, who, aware of the ignorance of the masses, and the ambitious designs of the military chiefs, saw no hope of safety for the nation, but in a constitutional monarchy.

The republican party were violently prepossessed in favor of a federal system of government, and boldly repudiated the plan, as the work of the military leaders, and not of the people, whose opinions had not been consulted until after the consummation of the revolution. This faction was composed of enthusiastic and liberal-minded men, who fondly hoped that the hour had arrived when their Utopian dreams were about to be realized. They pointed in derision to the imbecile and dissolute king of Spain, and asked his partisans if he was one to be controlled by the impotent articles of a constitution, while he had the power of resisting its operation. The friends of Iturbide took no part in the debates between the other parties, unless one of them was upon the point of gaining the ascendency, when they would throw their whole weight into the scale of the minority, and thus defeat the favorite measures of either faction. The manœuvres of the Iturbidists soon excited the suspicion of their colleagues, who, watching their conduct, penetrated their design of elevating the

general-in-chief to the supreme command. When the regency, or executive branch, met in consultation with the Congress, Iturbide assumed the speaker's chair. The members resisted this as an infringement of the privileges of the house, and he was compelled to retire, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of his partisans to support his claims to the dignity.

Iturbide withdrew to Tacubaya, with a division of the army, consisting of four thousand troops; from this place, he issued several manifestoes against the legislature, complaining of their procrastinating policy, in not passing the measures demanded by the condition of the country. The regency were continually asking for supplies of money, which the Congress was not disposed to grant, accusing the former of a wasteful expenditure of the public treasure. The intestine wars which had desolated Mexico for the last twelve years, had dried up all the usual sources of revenue, and left the nation without the means of meeting the exigencies of the state. The army had been increased since the revolution, and the pay of the troops augmented. The general-in-chief received a hundred and twenty thousand dollars for his services; his father had been voted a pension of ten thousand; the ministers received eight thousand per annum, and the members of Congress three thousand. To meet these ordinary and the extraordinary expenses which were constantly accruing was impossible; and, in consequence of these financial difficulties, serious disturbances arose which threatened the overthrow of the government. The army had not been paid for some months, and the soldiery began to exhibit symptoms of a mutinous and disorderly spirit. In order to increase the confusion which prevailed, Iturbide denounced the Congress, for neglecting to provide for the comfort of the "most meritorious part of the community," as he designated the military. The people became infected with the same seditious spirit, and the discontented loudly ex-

claimed against the Congress for not enacting laws calcu lated to promote the prosperity of the nation. The affairs of the country were in this lamentable condition, when a conspiracy was formed in the royalist camp at Toluca, to effect a counter revolution in favor of the old system. The plot was fortunately discovered in time to prevent its execution, and measures were taken to defend the capital against the enemies of the government.

On the 2d of April, Iturbide issued a proclamation declaring the country was in danger, and calling upon Congress to assemble without delay. At an early hour on the following day, the legislature obeyed the summons, and demanded of the members of the Regency the cause of this alarm. Señor Yannez, one of the latter body, denied all knowledge of the affair, and protested against the conduct of the general-in-chief, in using the names of his colleagues without their authority, accusing him of arrogating powers which did not belong to him, and of attempting to govern the nation by his own will. Iturbide retorted by denouncing Yannez as a traitor to the state, and an enemy to him personally. He afterwards accused several other deputies of the same crime, but upon investigating the charges preferred against them, they were found unsupported by sufficient evidence to warrant a conviction. This impolitic movement on the part of Iturbide, aroused the attention of the intelligent portion of the people, and petitions were presented for a reorganization of the executive power. Three new members were accordingly appointed to the regency. Iturbide and Yannez were suffered to continue in office.

The general-in-chief spared no effort to conciliate the military, advocating their claims upon all occasions, and displaying an interest in their welfare, which soon made him the idol of the army. To counteract the influence of the soldiery, Congress resolved to reduce the standing army to twenty thousand men, substituting in place of the

disbanded regiments, a force of thirty thousand militia. Iturbide protested strongly against this measure, asserting that the safety of the country demanded an augmentation, rather than a reduction, of the regular troops then in the field. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Iturbidists, the proposed alterations were deemed necessary, and they were ordered to be made without delay. Baffled by the decree of Congress that threatened to deprive him of his most devoted partisans, Iturbide determined to reach the summit of his ambitious desires by one bold, vigorous effort. On the 18th of May he presented to Congress a formal declaration of the Cortes of Spain, (dated the 13th of February,) against the treaty of Cordova, denouncing it as illegal, null, and void, as far as the Spanish government was concerned. Upon the reception of this intelligence, the Mexican Congress decided that the nation was released from the fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of the 24th of August, 1821, and that they were at liberty to elect an emperor according to the fourth article of the plan of Iguala. Seizing the propitious moment, when "the tide was at the flood which was to lead him on to fortune." Iturbide determined to consummate his designs, before the army was remodeled, or the people were awakened from the excitement occasioned by the decree of the Spanish Cortes.

On the night of the 18th of May, 1822, the noncommissioned officers of three regiments then garrisoned in the city, assembled the troops, and distributing money and *pulque* among their ranks, harangued them in favor of the general-in-chief. The eloquence of the corporals met with a hearty response from the men, who marched through the streets, and drew up in front of Iturbide's residence; here they were reinforced by a mob of *leperos*, a species of *sans culottes*, who swarmed, to the number of twenty thousand, within the purlieus of the capital. This formidable class of beggars, thieves, and assassins, were

always upon the alert to take advantage of popular commotions, in order to carry their own peculiar schemes into execution. At ten o'clock, the shout of, "Long live Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico," resounded through the city, accompanied by the rattling of drums and discharges of musketry. This uproar was continued during the night, and filled the quiet citizens with astonishment and alarm. An intimation was conveyed to the senators who were opposed to Iturbide, warning them not to appear in public next day as they valued their lives, for the soldiery were fiercely excited against them. This *ruse* succeeded in deterring some of the most influential deputies from taking their seats in the house.

On the morning of the memorable 19th of May, the capital was alive with excited people, who anxiously awaited the opening scene of the drama they were so much interested in; the suburbs poured forth its ragged and uncleanly crowds, who, although they neither danced the "Carmagniole," nor sung the Marseillais, were equally as ferocious as their brethren of the faubourgs of Paris in their best days. As soon as the doors of the legislative hall were opened the mob rushed in and filled the galleries, shouting, insulting, and even threatening the members, as they took their seats. Of the hundred and thirty-four deputies, but ninety-four were present upon this momentous occasion. With great difficulty silence was obtained, and a member proceeded to address the house upon the events of the previous night, which he declared to be a strong and irresistible expression of public sentiment, and therefore moved that Congress should exercise its prerogative, and elect an emperor upon the spot. This proposal was received by the representatives in profound silence. At last one of their number, more courageous than his colleagues, observed that it would be assuming a power which did not belong to them to proceed in the affair without consulting the

provinces; that Congress had assembled to frame a constitution, and not to appoint a sovereign. The speaker was interrupted by the furious yells of the ruffians in the galleries, who flourished their swords and long knives, threatening to *cut the throats of the members* if Iturbide was not proclaimed before one o'clock that day. Intimidated by the savage mob, whose impatience increased every moment, the assembly reluctantly consented to obey the commands of the soldiery and leperos, who were led on by the most worthless and abandoned wretches of the capital. A messenger was dispatched for Iturbide, who soon appeared in the hall, and the Congress proceeded to cast the votes which were to decide the fate of the empire. Of the ninety-four members present, seventy-seven voted for the General's elevation to the throne; fifteen, with a firmness worthy of admiration, declared that the provinces ought to be consulted, and cast their ballots against him, and two other deputies withdrew from the house without expressing an opinion. Amid loud and repeated shouts of "Long live Augustin the First," Iturbide, with an affected show of humility, accepted the imperial office he had won by sacrificing the liberty of his country, and his own self-respect

CHAPTER IV.

Coronation of the Emperor — Refusal of the Archbishop to officiate at the Ceremony — Personal appearance of Iturbide — Tyrannical administration of the Emperor — Imprisonment of fourteen Deputies for Treason — Dissolution of Congress by force — Organization of a National Junta — Unlawful seizure of money at Perote — Imperial Order of Guadalupe — Colonization laws.

The emperor was crowned with all the pomp and ceremonious magnificence, so characteristic of the Mexican people, and ascended the throne of the Montezumas with the cordial approbation of the army, the clergy, and a numerous and influential body of the citizens of the capital. The archbishop of Mexico, however, refused to officiate at the coronation, and even expressed his opposition to Iturbide's elevation, by retiring from the city. So marked a token of displeasure from the head of the Mexican hierarchy did not fail to create a sensation; and while it encouraged the enemies of the emperor, it cast a shadow over the future prospects of the new born dynasty. The provinces of the empire soon gave in their adhesion to the government, and solemnly swore allegiance to the Emperor, as the constitutional ruler of the nation.

Iturbide was born in the intendancy of Valladolid, on the 27th of September, 1783, and was about forty years of age when he commenced his troubled reign. His personal appearance was highly pleasing and prepossessing, and his manners were both dignified and elegant. "His stature was about five feet eleven inches, stoutly made and very

well proportioned. His face was of an oval form, and his features were all very good except his eyes, which were constantly bent upon the ground or averted. His hair was brown, and his beard of a red color, his complexion was fair and ruddy, more like that of a German than a Spanish Creole."* By his affable and insinuating address, and the wealth and honors which he lavished with a liberal hand among the military, Iturbide gained many influential partisans who supported his arbitrary administration as long as he continued to shower favors upon them. But when the tide of adversity set against him, these mercenary sycophants were the very first of his party to desert their former idol.

From the manner in which the emperor had been elected, it may be presumed that there would be a struggle between the legislative and executive branches of the government. Scarcely had Iturbide assumed the sceptre, when he demanded the power of appointing not only the members of his own council, but the judges of the supreme courts, together with the prerogative of vetoing all laws, and such articles of the constitution as he deemed useless or inexpedient. Congress granted him the liberty of nominating the privy councillors, but firmly opposed his design of making the judiciary subservient to his own will. The deputies also conceded to the executive the right of vetoing and amending the acts of Congress, under certain restrictions. During the debates upon this subject, the galleries of the house were filled with a disorderly crowd of soldiers and vagabonds, who were loud in their threats of vengeance against the persons of the representatives whenever a measure was introduced hostile to the known wishes of the monarch. In the early part of August, 1822, the emperor proposed an alteration in the judiciary, by substituting military tribunals in place of the ordinary courts, which

* Poinsett's Notes on Mexico.

he pronounced inefficient for the administration of justice. This presumptuous and flagrant attempt to convert the monarchy into a military despotism, met with a signal rebuke. The delegates banded together, and repelled the proposition with scorn and indignation. There is no position so calculated to develop the inherent weakness of the human character as that of supreme power. Placed upon a giddy eminence, far above the influence of public opinion, which controls the wayward passions of other men, the despotic ruler of a nation may be compared to a volcano during an eruption; which, though it fill the whole surrounding region with its glory, still reveals deformities which in a more subdued light would have escaped notice. The policy pursued by the Mexican emperor proves him to have been a tyrant at heart, who was determined to gratify his lust for power by trampling upon the sacred rights of his subjects.

Exasperated by the opposition of the legislative body, Iturbide resorted to a measure that at once proclaimed his iniquitous intentions. On the night of the 26th of August, fourteen members of Congress were arrested upon an accusation of high treason, and incarcerated in prison. Three days elapsed before their colleagues assumed courage to remonstrate against this abuse of imperial power. On the 29th, however, they demanded the release of the prisoners, or a hearing for them before the proper tribunals, in accordance with the laws of the empire.* The minister of the Interior replied, that the act of habeas corpus referred to but one person, and could not be applied to several guilty of a similar offence! The Mexican Congress then demanded that the accused should be tried by a committee of the house; the executive refused this request, alleging that it was impossible to designate

* The Spanish Constitution had been adopted as proposed in the twenty-first article of the Plan of Iguala.

the deputies who were innocent, from those who were guilty of the same crime for which their colleagues were imprisoned. After much tumultuous debate upon this subject, Congress decided, on the 12th of September, to submit to the will of the emperor, as the surest method of procuring the release of the prisoners, and preserving the peace of the country. Four months had been consumed in the fruitless effort to restrain the prerogative of the executive within the limits prescribed by the organic law of the state. During this period the affairs of the people were allowed to remain in the greatest confusion; the country swarmed with robbers and assassins, who, taking advantage of the disorder which had prevailed since the revolution, committed the most atrocious crimes with impunity. The royal exchequer was bankrupt, and the expenses of the government far exceeded the revenue. All confidence between the emperor and Congress had been destroyed by the tyrannical conduct of the former, and the determination of the latter, to abstain from enacting laws which were liable to be stifled by the imperial veto.

Convinced of the impossibility of attempting to bring the legislature into a compliance with his plans, Iturbide assembled a select party of his political friends, and denounced the policy pursued by Congress as opposed to the best interests of the country, asserting that they desired to overthrow his government, and erect a democracy in its place, in contravention of the stipulations of the Plan of Iguala, which they had sworn to maintain inviolate. It was proposed by the partisans of the emperor to demand of Congress a reduction of their number and privileges, together with an increase of the royal prerogative. The deputies firmly resisted these innovations, and withstood the attempts of the executive to cajole them into a surrender of the little liberty which they still retained. Determined to carry his schemes into

effect, Iturbide resorted to the expedient employed by Cromwell and Napoleon under somewhat similar circumstances. Accordingly, on the 30th of October, 1822, one of the emperor's aids appeared in the legislative hall, and commanded the members to disperse within ten minutes, or they should be expelled at the point of the bayonet. This threat had the desired effect, as the soldiery were known to be violently exasperated against the representatives, who had, among other follies, refused to provide for the payment of the army.

The dissolution of the Congress of the nation placed the emperor upon the height he had been struggling to reach. He now had succeeded in overthrowing all the barriers that lay between his condition as a constitutional sovereign and a despotic sultan. His usurpation did not pass without some show of resistance. Don Felix la Garza raised the *grito* of revolt in the eastern internal provinces, and pronounced in favor of the Congress. Iturbide dispatched a division against him without delay, which, advancing rapidly upon Soto la Marina, attacked and dispersed the malcontents before they had become sufficiently strong to make an effectual stand.

On the 2d of November, a national junta, consisting of forty-five members, were assembled by proclamation, and proceeded to perform all the functions of a legislative body. The financial affairs of the country being exposed, it was discovered that the expenses of the government was thirteen millions of dollars; its resources amounted to but eight millions. The junta, in order to replenish the treasury, immediately imposed a forced loan of two millions five hundred thousand dollars. A large quantity of money was soon after seized at Perote, and appropriated by the rapacious administration to its own use; it belonged to emigrant Spaniards, who had fled to avoid the troubles which distracted the empire.

Iturbide now found himself in a position which would

have unsettled the ideas of a much greater man; he was the sole arbiter of his country's destiny, untrammeled by a single authority potent enough to control his lawless will. He used every means to conciliate his foes, by conferring upon those who joined his party offices of profit and honor. He established an order of knighthood called the Imperial Order of Guadalupe, of which his majesty was the grand master. By these measures he gained many adherents, and, supported by the clergy, and the military, his dynasty seemed too firmly fixed to be easily overthrown. The patriot leaders who were opposed to his administration had retired from the capital; the Spaniards had been driven from Vera Cruz, and were now besieged in the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, by the imperial army under General Santa Anna, one of the emperor's most devoted partisans. The finances alone disturbed the even tenor of his reign, and threatened to interrupt the harmony which existed throughout the country. In the hope of relieving his difficulties, Iturbide issued, on the 1st of January, 1823, four millions of paper money, which was declared to be a legal tender for one-third of its amount.

On the 3d of January, the National Junta passed a general colonization law, which guaranteed to protect the liberty, property, and civil rights of all foreigners who professed the Roman Catholic religion, who should settle within the provinces designated by the government. This law referred to Texas, the only part of the empire where colonies had been established. It was the object of the Mexicans to form a barrier of American settlements upon their eastern frontier, that would serve as a protection against the savages who infested the great plains which stretched from the Rio Grande to the Sabine.

CHAPTER V.

Iturbide's progress to Jalapa — His fatal interview with Santa Anna — Revolt of the Garrison of Vera Cruz — Pronunciamento against the Emperor — Fraternization of the hostile Armies — Convention of Casa Mata — Victoria assumes the Command — Requisition upon the Clergy — Advance of the Malcontents — Abdication of the Emperor — Formation of a Triumvirate.

The Spanish garrison of San Juan de Ulloa having made an attempt to recover the city of Vera Cruz, it was now deemed necessary to obtain possession of that important fortress; which, impregnable by its great strength, commanded the town and harbor of the principal seaport of the empire. Iturbide, accordingly, opened a negotiation with the commandant of the castle, which resulting in nothing definite, the former resolved to proceed to the coast, and obtain a personal interview with the latter, in the hope of bringing him to terms.

On the 10th of November, the emperor left the capital with a brilliant escort, and was received everywhere on his route, with the evidences of unshaken loyalty. Upon his arrival at Puebla, he was greeted by enthusiastic crowds, and sumptuously entertained by the bishop of the diocese, and the governor of that city, both of whom were his firm allies and friends. From there, he proceeded to Jalapa, where he awaited the coming of the Spanish commander. That officer, however, refused to deliver up the stronghold, or to confer with the emperor beyond the precincts of his own walls, so the negotiation terminated.

Although the emperor's visit to Jalapa failed in its object, yet it was the cause of hastening the development of events connected with the destiny of Iturbide, the nation, and the cause of Mexican liberty. General Echavarri, the commander-in-chief of the southern division of the imperial army joined his majesty at Jalapa, and charged his second in authority, Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, with insubordination and disobedience. This distinguished personage, who was by nature ambitious, haughty, and enterprising, had driven the Spaniards from Vera Cruz, and was at this time provisional governor of that place, and possessed of great influence in the army under his orders. Iturbide, in an evil hour, called him to Jalapa, and harshly reproaching him, deprived him of his command. "To an aspiring mind, and a perseverance and energy rarely associated in the Mexican character, Santa Anna united a sensibility of soul which rendered him peculiarly susceptible to the emotions of gratitude and revenge." Exasperated by the ungenerous conduct of the man he had helped to raise to a throne, he departed from the town, and outstripping the messenger who bore the order for his dismissal, he reached Vera Cruz, and mustering his troops, he addressed them in an impetuous manner. Denouncing the emperor and his administration, he exhorted them to take up arms and oppose a government so despotic, ungrateful, and inefficient. The soldiers received this harangue with acclamation, and readily enrolled themselves against the power they had sworn to maintain. The garrisons of the adjacent towns soon joined the malcontents, and the whole province of Vera Cruz was arrayed under their standard. Santa Anna immediately issued a *pronunciamento* in favor of a republican form of government; he accused the emperor of perjury, tyranny, and ingratitude; with having reduced the nation to a state verging upon ruin, by his extortions and unjust decrees, leveled against the sacred rights of the

people. He declared it his design to convoke the Mexican Congress, to unfurl the banner of democracy and march upon the capital. Finally, he advised Iturbide to abdicate and throw himself upon the generosity of the nation, who would not fail to remember his former services in their cause.

Upon the reception of this document, the emperor ordered General Echavarri to march against the rebels with the forces under his command and disperse them without delay. Santa Anna advanced to meet him, and took up a position at the Puente del Rey, a bridge over the Rio Antigua, which he fortified. The hostile parties met, and fought several actions without either gaining the advantage or suffering much loss. This was not a war of caste or extermination like the preceding, but one of policy, in which intrigue proved more potent than the sword or bayonet. At this crisis Guadalupe Victoria, who had been concealed among the mountains, suddenly appeared in the insurgent camp, and was hailed with enthusiasm by the soldiery. With a moderation which did him honor, Santa Anna resigned the baton of command into the hands of this veteran republican, whose name alone was a tower of strength to any cause he espoused.

On the calends of February, 1823, Echavarri, Victoria, and Santa Anna, held a conference at Casa Mata, which resulted in a union of the hostile armies. The generals dispatched an officer to the capital with proposals of peace, but insisted upon the abdication of the emperor and the immediate convocation of Congress, as the *sine qua non* of the pacification. Iturbide, astounded by the defection of Echavarri, endeavored to recall him to his allegiance, but without success. His affairs were becoming more desperate every hour: his treasury was empty; the paper currency he had issued was worthless; the people already discontented, threatened to rise *en masse* and hurl him from his throne.

Urged on by his fatal destiny, the emperor, forgetful of the party to whose efforts he owed his crown, attacked the clergy in the most susceptible part; he called upon them for a contribution of church plate to relieve him from the difficulties which pressed upon him. True to the policy which governs the priesthood in all countries and in ever clime, the Mexican prelates withdrew their support, and the imperial structure they had reared fell crumbling to the earth. The revolt which had been confined to Vera Cruz, soon spread over the whole country, from Valladolid to San Luis Potosi; the people rose, and seizing the royal authorities cast them into prison: Oaxaca and Guadalaxara also declared against the administration. Bravo and Guerrero, mustering an army in the western provinces, sounded the tocsin of rebellion and arrayed themselves in deadly hostility to the emperor. The forces under Victoria entered Puebla about the 1st of March, and were received as friends. Iturbide had established a camp at Iztapaluca, four miles from the capital, but perceiving that his star had fallen, he returned to the city, and on the 8th of March, summoned the Mexican Congress together, and tendered his abdication. The number of members being too small to form a quorum, they declined to accept his resignation. Deserted by the clergy, the people, and even the flatterers who had basked in the sunshine of royal favor, the unhappy prince on the 19th, made a formal surrender of the imperial crown, declaring that he had accepted the supreme power with reluctance to save the country from ruin, and that he was ready to resign it, the moment he had discovered that his retaining it served as a pretext for civil war. Announcing to Congress his desire to seek an asylum in some foreign land, that his presence in Mexico might not give rise to dissensions, he solicited of them an appropriation sufficient to liquidate his debts. Again Congress refused to receive his abdication, denying that he had ever possessed a legitimate right to the crown, but they granted him permission to leave the country with

his family, and allowed him a pension of twenty-five thousand dollars a year. Iturbide, who had withdrawn to Tulancingo, acceded to these terms, and stripping himself of the emblem of sovereignty which had galled his brow, he laid the sceptre of the Montezumas at the feet of those from whom he had violently wrested it. Thus terminated the administration of Augustin Iturbide, a man who had "greatness thrust upon him," a mere creature of circumstances; raised to the highest pinnacle of power by the influence of a powerful class, his government was one of expedients, not of principle, and was characterized by the most absurd inconsistencies and unnecessary severities. His maxim was not that which is right, but that which is convenient. He ceased to govern when unsupported by the clergy, and a hireling soldiery, who turned their bayonets against him when his exchequer was exhausted, and their pay deferred. Adorned by no virtue, graced by no talents, he rose to a dangerous eminence, and after "strutting his hour upon the stage," he doffed the imperial purple, and sank back into his former obscurity.

On the 27th of March, the republican forces under Victoria and Negrete, entered the capital in triumph. The former Congress assembled and appointed a triumvirate as the supreme executive power of the nation. The persons chosen, were Nicholas Bravo, Guadalupe Victoria, and Pedro Celestino Negrete; the latter personage had been a distinguished enemy to the patriots during the struggle which terminated in the independence of Mexico. General Santa Anna, in the meantime sailed from Vera Cruz with six hundred men, and landing at Tampico, advanced to San Luis Potosi, and commenced a counter-revolution, by declaring himself the protector of the federal republic. He did not succeed, however, and was obliged to yield to the government. The ex-emperor, his family and suite, consisting of twenty-five persons, were escorted to the coast by General Bravo, and embarked for Italy, in an English vessel on the 11th of May, 1823.

CHAPTER VI.

Constitution of 1824 — Opposition of the Clergy and Military — Intrigues of the friends of the late Emperor — Revolt of Echavarri — Insurrection at the Capital — Banishment of Staboli and his accomplices — Decree against Iturbide — Sudden return of that personage — His arrest — Death of Iturbide — His reputation in Mexico.

The revolution had so far proved eminently successful, and, notwithstanding a great diversity of opinion existed as to the exact form of the government to be established, all the master spirits of the country were in favor of a republican system. In order to obtain the opinion of the people a new election was held for members of Congress. The deputies who were chosen assembled at Mexico in the autumn of 1823, and on the 20th of November a committee of the house reported the outlines of a constitution modeled after that of the United States of the north. The committee was composed of the Señores Vargas, Argnelles, Mangins, Arispe, and Jose de Jesus Huerta, all of whom were distinguished patriots, and sincere advocates of democratic institutions. By this instrument, Mexico was to be divided into sixteen states, under the title of the Mexican United States; the form of government to be that of a representative popular federal republic:

Article III. Declares that, "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will be perpetually, the Roman Catholic Apostolic," and prohibits the exercise of all other.

"ART. VII. The legislative power of the federation shall be disposed in a Congress, to be divided into two houses, one of deputies and the other of senators.

"ART. XI. For every eighty thousand souls, one representative shall be appointed, or for a fraction which passes forty thousand: the state which may not contain this population to be entitled to one representative notwithstanding.

"ART. XXV. The senate shall be composed of two senators from each state, elected by an absolute majority of the votes of the legislatures.

"ART. LXVII. Every resolution of the general Congress shall have the character of a law or decree.

"ART. LXX. All laws relating to contributions or impost to originate in the house of deputies. The supreme executive power was to be lodged in one individual, styled the president of the Mexican United States."

"There was also to be a vice-president; both of these officers to be elected by the legislatures of the different states. The term of service for the executive was to be four years. No president could be elected for two consecutive terms. The executive had the privilege of vetoing all laws within ten days after their enactment, unless such laws had been passed by a majority of two-thirds of both houses of Congress. During the recess of Congress, one senator from each state officiated as a member of the Council of Government, of which the vice-president of Mexico was the chairman. This council performed the duties of the senate, and were the constitutional advisers of the executive, possessed of power to control his official authority, if deemed necessary. The administration of justice was confided to one supreme, and several district and circuit courts. The supreme court was composed of eleven members, divided into three halls. The judges held their offices during good behavior, and were elected by the legislatures throughout the confederacy upon the same day. The circuit courts were composed of one professional judge, one prosecuting attorney, and two associate judges. The members of these tribunals were nominated by the supreme court, and appointed by the president. Before entering upon their duties,

the judges of the latter took the following oath, in presence of the president of the Republic: 'You swear to God our Lord, faithfully to discharge the duties and obligations confided to you by the nation. If you do this God will reward you; if otherwise, he will punish you.' No suit could be instituted, either in civil or criminal cases, for injuries, unless the litigants could prove that they had legally attempted the means of conciliation."*

Such are the outlines of the Mexican constitution — an instrument, in some respects, equal to that of any country; in others very deficient. Its great faults were the prohibition of all forms of religion save that of Rome, and its neglecting to provide for trial by jury, that mighty bulwark of the people against the power of an interested or venal judiciary. This absurd devotion to the Roman Church has been the curse of the Mexican nation; it has dried up the fountains of liberty, and has spread a blighting influence over the land, withering and paralyzing the efforts of those who have endeavored to dispel the clouds of ignorance and superstition; which hang in gloomy folds upon the altars of her cathedrals, and around the humble firesides of her degraded peasantry; and unless a more liberal spirit of religious toleration prevails, Mexico cannot hope to prosper, but will sink lower and lower in the scale of nations, until her light is extinguished in the blood of her slaughtered people; who will fall, like the subjects of her ancient monarchs, a prey to the valor and enterprise of some bold invader.

"We buried their fathers upon the San Jacinto; we will bury their sons upon the Rio Bravo." This boast of the Texans has been accomplished long since, in smoke and in flame. The enemies of the federal system, the most prominent of whom were ecclesiastics and military chiefs, opposed the establishment of the constitution by every means known to politicians. They resorted to in-

* By means of the Consulado.

trigue, artifice, threats, and bribery; and when these failed, they did not scruple to excite their partisans, to array themselves in hostility against the administration.

In the early part of January, 1824, General Echavarri, who occupied the province of Puebla, raised the standard of revolt, and refused to obey the commands of the triumvirate. General Guerrero was sent against the rebels, by the government, who, marching upon them at the head of a battalion, quelled the disturbance without resorting to force, and carried Echavarri a prisoner to the capital. Shortly afterwards, another insurrection took place at Cuernavaca, in the Tierra Caliente, which was also put down by the active Guerrero, who proved himself to be worthy of all confidence. The opponents of the constitution, who wished to establish a central system, managed to defer the adoption of that instrument, until the patience of several of the States becoming exhausted, they took up arms, and threatened to withdraw from the confederacy unless their wishes were complied with. Taking advantage of this diversion in their favor, the federalists insisted upon the immediate adoption of the constitution, which was accordingly sworn to on the 2d of February, 1824, to the great satisfaction of all who really desired the good of the republic.

During this period, an insurrection broke out in the city of Mexico, caused by the ancient enmity which existed between the Creoles and European Spaniards. The natives of the capital and the garrison, headed by Colonel Lobato, demanded the expulsion of the Spaniards from all public employments; Congress refused to grant this request, and the whole city was thrown into an alarming state of agitation. Lobato finally submitted to the government, and was pardoned. His second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Staboli, still held out, and did not surrender until his followers deserted him. Staboli was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot; he was subse-

quently liberated and banished from Mexico, with twenty-three other officers, who were implicated in the revolt. In consequence of the excitement which continued to prevail, it was deemed advisable to comply with the demands of the natives, as there had been too much cause for their prejudice against the Spaniards. Several changes were therefore made in the departments; the Europeans were superseded by Creoles, the former being allowed a pension for life of one-third of their former pay. The supreme executive was also remodeled, and was now composed of Nicholas Bravo, Vicente Guerrero, and Miguel Dominguez. On the 28th of April, Congress passed a law declaring Augustin Iturbide a traitor, and sentenced him to death should he re-enter the republic. This decree was designed to check the movements of the partisans of the late emperor, who, being excluded from all share in the management of the affairs of the nation, were constantly disturbing the tranquillity of the state by their intrigues. That these disaffected persons were bent upon restoring the imperial power, was soon placed beyond the shadow of a doubt by an eventful catastrophe.

On the 14th of July, 1824, a strange vessel was seen hovering upon the coast near the river Santander: she was under English colors, and excited the curiosity of the people on shore, who seldom witnessed such an appearance upon this solitary part of the Mexican Gulf. On the following day, General Felix la Garza, the commandant of the district of Soto la Marina, was waited upon by a person from the ship, who announced himself as Charles de Beneski, a Polish gentleman who visited Mexico with a friend, with the intention of negotiating with the government for a tract of land for the purpose of founding a colony from abroad. La Garza gave the foreigners permission to enter the country, although he was not without his suspicions as to their object in landing upon this isolated spot. On the 17th, the General was

informed that Beneski was walking on shore with a companion who was disguised, and appeared to shun observation. The commandant dispatching a party of troops in pursuit of them, the strangers were apprehended at Paraje de los Arroyos, eighteen miles from Soto la Marina. The prisoners were brought before La Garza; when being stripped of his disguise, Iturbide stood face to face with his former officer. Having revolted against the emperor in 1823, and having been routed and disgraced, La Garza bore no good will toward his illustrious captive, so strangely placed in his power.

Overrating his influence with his countrymen, or like the young Foscari, sick

> "Of that malady
> Which calls up green and native hills to view
> From the rough deep, with such identity
> To the exile's fevered eye,"

The banished monarch returned to die upon the soil that gave him birth, and nourished him up to greatness. The famed beauties of the "picture land" of Italy, to which he had been exiled, were forgotten in the remembrance of the gorgeous loveliness of the vale of Mexico. General La Garza conducted his prisoners to Padilla and delivered them up to the authorities of the state* within whose confines they had been taken. The legislature was then in session, and determined to execute the decree of Congress which had been passed in the month of April preceding. Iturbide entreated the authorities to submit his case to the general government; asserting the purity of his intentions in returning, but without success: the legislature was inexorable, and he was sentenced to die with indecent haste.

On the evening of the 19th of July, after confessing himself, Iturbide was led to execution. He addressed

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* Tamaulipas.

those who were present in an earnest manner, declaring that he had sought his native land, not as a dethroned prince to claim his crown, but as a soldier and a Mexican, for the purpose of binding up the wounds of his beloved country, and to defeat the machinations of her enemies! He exhorted those around him to love their country, and obey the present government; he then announced his readiness to die, and placing a bandage over his eyes he knelt on the ground. The word of command was given, which was followed by a volley of musketry, and the restless spirit of the Mexican chief no longer animated his frame.* The news of the death of Iturbide was received by the nation with no exhibition of unseemly exultation; and although the different state legislatures sent their congratulations to the federal government, the sins of the deceased were regarded more in sorrow than in anger. The Mexican Congress, without openly reproving the officious zeal of the authorities who had taken upon themselves the execution of the ex-emperor, resolved to reward his eminent services by granting his family a pension of eight thousand dollars a year.†

Since that period the reputation of Iturbide has increased among his countrymen until it has reached its climax, and he is now recognized throughout Mexico as the father of his country! The anniversary of the day which gave him birth, is celebrated in every city, town, and pueblo, from Chiapas to Santa Fe, with all the usual demonstrations with which nations proclaim their gratitude towards public benefactors.

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* He fell pierced with four balls: two of which were lodged in his brain, the same number in his heart.

† Iturbide's family consisted of a wife and two children.

CHAPTER VII.

Abolition of Negro slavery in Mexico — Origin of African slavery in Southern America — Financial difficulties — Negotiation of a loan — Recognition of Mexican Independence by the United States and Britain — National Colonization Law — Election and inauguration of Victoria and Bravo — Prosperous condition of the Colonies east of the Rio Grande.

On the 13th of July, 1824, the supreme executive power of Mexico issued a decree, manumitting negro slaves, and abolishing the slave trade within the territory of the republic. Every slave brought into the country after this date was declared to be a free man, from the moment he landed upon the Mexican soil. It was farther decreed, that all vessels engaged in transporting negroes into Mexico should be confiscated, and their owners, agents and officers, subjected to ten years' imprisonment.

The Mexicans owed the introduction of Africans into their country to the efforts of Las Casas, the benevolent Dominican, who, wishing to preserve the natives of the continent from the fate which had befallen those of Hispaniola, proposed to substitute in their stead a race, whose physical and moral peculiarities seemed to destine them to a life of bondage. Yielding to the persuasions of Las Casas, Charles V. granted a license,* to one of his courtiers, to introduce negroes into the Spanish colonies. This personage sold the privilege to a company of Genoese merchants, who loaded several ships with Africans and

* The Assiento, Philip V. transferred this right to the English.

sent them to America. In the rich islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, the accursed freight was purchased with avidity; but upon the mainland, where the natives were of a more hardy constitution, more accustomed to labor, and therefore better suited for slaves than those of the isles, a small number only was disposed of; and at the time when the decree of manumission was promulgated, there were not more than ten thousand African bondsmen in the republic. This act of enfranchisement was a deed of justice and mercy to all classes, inasmuch as the majority of the people were so wretchedly poor that their labor could be purchased for a mere trifle.

On the 18th of August, the Triumvirate of Mexico issued a colonization law, confirmatory of that passed the preceding year. By the fourth article of this decree, it was declared that no settlements could be made within twenty leagues of the territory of any foreign nation, nor within ten leagues of the sea-coasts, without the express approbation of the general executive power. By article seventh, it was guaranteed that, until after the year 1840, no law should be passed prohibiting the entrance of foreigners into the country as colonists, "unless imperious circumstances should require it, with respect to individuals of a particular nation." The new colonists were forbidden to transfer their property in *manus muertos* (mortmain) or to hold lands, if they were not domiciliated within the limits of the republic, or citizens thereof.

It cannot be denied that these laws were not dictated in a spirit of generous liberality, always excepting the articles requiring the colonists to submit to the predominant religion of the country. As these laws referred to Texas, they may be regarded as so many executive warrants authorizing the dismemberment of the Mexican domain.

One of the greatest difficulties under which the government labored arose from the distracted condition of the public finances. In the month of August, 1824, the Mexi-

can agents succeeded in negotiating a loan of twenty millions of dollars, with an opulent house in London; a second loan of sixteen millions was subsequently obtained during the same year. This filled the coffers of the state, and enabled the executive to carry out their patriotic schemes for the regeneration of the nation.

On the 1st of January, 1825, the general sovereign constituent Congress of Mexico assembled at the capital, and was opened with all due solemnity. On the 6th of the same month, the votes of the state legislatures were read in presence of both houses, and Guadalupe Victoria was declared President of the United Mexican States, and Nicholas Bravo, Vice-President of the same. Congress passed several laws during this session calculated to promote the prosperity of the nation. All titles of nobility were abolished in the republic, as being contrary to the democratic constitution which had been adopted. An effort was also made to circumscribe the power of the priesthood within the limits corresponding to the new order of things.

The poor remains of the once formidable Spanish power was now concentrated at San Juan de Ulloa, Callao, the port of Lima, and at Chiloe on the coast of Chili. The European forces were few in number, and were neither feared or respected by the emancipated colonies, who shortly afterwards witnessed their surrender. Thus was the power of Spain, with all its splendid array of vice-kings and captain-generals, swept before the hurricane of revolution from the lands accursed by her despotic and iniquitous rule. The political simoom had crossed not only the valleys and mountains of Mexico, but along the shores of Columbia, Chili, Guatemala, and the ancient empire of Peru. The brilliant victory of Ayacucho had crowned the struggles of the republicans with success. Seas of blood had been shed and deeds of cruelty perpetrated, unheard of in modern times; the footsteps of either

faction had been tracked in the blood of not only those engaged in actual warfare, but too often in that of the aged and helpless, of women and innocent children. And now, having passed through all the horrors of revolution and intestine war, and shaken off the grasp of foreign domination, the several states entered upon the dangerous experiment of self-government. How signally they have failed in that glorious career is but too well known. Their deeds have been forced upon the observation of mankind, until their feelings revolt, and they turn away in horror and disgust from the page which records the bloody history. Suddenly emerging from a state of degradation and dependence, the nations of the south were blinded by the flood of light which poured upon their path from the altar of freedom, and like one long confined within the gloomy walls of a dungeon, they staggered to and fro until they have fallen into a condition of anarchy and disorder more deplorable than that which preceded their emancipation. The Mexicans and Peruvians have merely changed their masters, the military chiefs of the present day are equally as tyrannous and licentious as the delegated sovereigns, who formerly swayed the conquered sceptres of Montezuma and the Incas.

President Victoria was inaugurated on the 1st of April, 1825, and commenced his administration under the fairest auspices. The United States had recognized the independence of Mexico during the reign of Iturbide, in 1822. The government of Great Britain had announced her determination of doing the same on the 1st of January, and had appointed commissioners, vested with full pow ers to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the new Republic. The treasury of the state had been replenished, and the turbulent spirits who had so often disturbed the public tranquillity, seemed to have withdrawn from the political arena, where they had displayed their ungenerous strife. The state authorities who had been elected

to office had entered upon their duties, and appeared determined to second the efforts of the federal government in laying the foundations of the democratic dynasty upon a solid and permanent basis. Victoria was personally a popular man with the people, the soldiery, and the clergy; he had experienced many vicissitudes, and had proved his devotion to the cause of freedom in many a bloody field. The first year of Victoria's administration passed without any important event worthy of record; the fierce elements were stilled, and the bark of state glided tranquilly along through the calm waters.

By the constitutional act of the 7th of May, 1824, the territory bordering upon the Rio Grande and the province of Texas was provisionally united to form the state of Coahuila and Texas, "until Texas possessed the necessary elements to prove a separate state of herself." This decree gave the latter a specific political existence, and recognized her as one of the unities of the Mexican federation. On the 24th of March, 1825, the legislature of the "free, sovereign, and independent state of Coahuila and Texas, desiring, by every possible means, to augment the population of its territory, to promote the cultivation of its fertile lands, the raising, and multiplication of stock, and the progress of the arts and commerce," passed a colonization law confirming the decrees of the general government, and guaranteeing the foreigners in their personal and political rights. The colonies on the Brazos and in the eastern part of Texas were rapidly advancing toward a state of great prosperity; the vast plains were filled with herds, the valleys with plenteous crops of full-eared corn, and the cheerful sounds of human industry resounded through the forests so lately the abode of the prowling savage.

CHAPTER VIII.

Struggle between the rival Masonic Lodges — Efforts of the Clergy to suppress Masonry — Political Principles of the two Factions — Pronunciamento of Colonel Montanyo — General Bravo Revolts — Guerrero quells the Rebellion — Services of Commodore Porter — Santa Anna takes up Arms — He is Outlawed — He enters the Capital — Struggles of the Factions — The City is Pillaged.

During the winter of 1826, the Mexican Congress was thrown into great excitement by the introduction of a bill for the suppression of Masonic societies within the republic, in obedience to a papal bull issued by the Roman Pontiff. In all ages and countries, the Romish clergy have regarded free-masonry with the greatest abhorrence, denouncing it as a pestilent heresy, worthy of the severest punishment. In the year 1738, Pope Clement XII. excommunicated all persons connected with masonic lodges; in 1751, Benedict XIV. confirmed the sentence of his predecessor. The Inquisition punished those suspected of free-masonry with torture, imprisonment, and even death. Ferdinand VI., of Spain, condemned the members of this society to suffer the penalty inflicted upon those guilty of high treason. His successor, Charles IV., then king of Naples, issued an edict to the same effect. In France, Holland, and Italy, the assemblage of lodges was prohibited by both the priesthood and the laws of the state.

The Mexican clergy, more bigoted and powerful than those of the Peninsula, had been enabled to keep this *heresy* beyond the limits of the viceroyalty; but no sooner

had Mexico declared her independence than, in spite of all their efforts, the seeds of masonry began to spring up in all parts of the country. The Pope was therefore called upon to blast their growth, by the spiritual thunder of the church. In defiance of the commands of his holiness, and the threats and persuasions of the native clergy, the bill demanding the suppression of masonic lodges was rejected by the Mexican Congress. And as nothing tends to increase the spread of any opinion so much as persecution, the opposition of the priesthood soon rendered the freemasons both numerous and popular. The members of this order carried their political principles within the precincts of their respective lodges, which were converted into assemblies devoted to or against the interests of the federal government.

The charter of the original lodges established in Mexico had been obtained from Scotland, the members of which were called the Escoces; the persons composing this branch of the society were opposed to the constitution, and in favor of a limited monarchy, to be governed by a Spanish prince. In order to counteract the influence of this faction, another society was organized, known as the Yorkino lodge, the members of which were devoted to the cause of democracy and the constitution. The Escoces numbered among their adherents many persons of wealth and influence; the Vice-President of the republic, Nicholas Bravo, was their leader; Gomez Pedraza, Jose Montanyo, and several distinguished statesmen and soldiers, were firm supporters of the aristocratic faction. The Yorkinos were headed by generals Victoria, Santa Anna, Guerrero, Lorenzo de Zavala, and Bustamente, all of whom were men of talents and reputation. Each of these rival parties endeavored to break down the other, but without success; the legislative halls were converted into a field of contention, which witnessed the alternate defeat and triumph of either faction. The fierce passions

which had so often filled the plains with hostile armies, were here displayed in deadly opposition, and threatened to rend the confederacy to pieces. The Yorkinos were the most numerous party, and had more partisans among the people of the provinces, the intelligent citizens and agriculturists, the village curas and subalterns of the army; but they had to contend against an opulent and powerful class, composed of the dignitaries of the church, the great landholders and miners, the higher officers of the army and of the state, who employed the vast resources at their disposal to advance the cause they had sworn to support. Every measure introduced into Congress served as a cause of war for the parties, whose reckless hostility toward each other rendered them incapable of performing their duties as the legislators of a free people.

These dissensions continued to distract the councils of the nation during the session of Congress; and after its adjournment, the members of the legislative and executive branches differing widely upon all subjects demanding their attention, the interests of the people were neglected; and had not the state legislatures acted with more wisdom than the federal government, the country would have been thrown into the greatest disorder. Fortunately the provinces enjoyed an immunity from the distractions which convulsed the capital, and were steadily advancing towards a condition of prosperity hitherto unknown to them. Texas alone exhibited a warlike aspect, in consequence of the mad attempt of a number of adventurers to erect the eastern portion of the province into a separate state. The assumed cause of this revolt was, that the Mexican government had abolished slavery. There were a great number of negroes in Texas, who were bound for life, and were *de facto* the property of their masters. This arrangement, however, did not content the Fredonians, as they called themselves, who took up arms, and forming an alliance with some Indians in the vicinity, resolved to resist

the authority of the state. A division of troops marched against the malcontents, and an action ensued, which resulted in the defeat and dispersion of the rebels. General Long, their leader, was subsequently assassinated at San Antonio de Bexar.

Toward the close of the same year, 1827, Colonel Jose Montanyo, a distinguished leader of the Escoces faction, sounded the tocsin of civil war at Otumba, and promulgated a plan for the forcible reform of the government. In December, General Bravo denounced President Victoria as a Yorkino, and leaving the capital and fratrinizing with the rebels, marched to Tulancingo, and declared in favor of the plan of Montanyo, which was to establish a central consolidated system in lieu of the one then in operation. The insurgents mustered in strong force; the discontented flocked to their camp from the neighboring states, swelling their ranks and rendering them more formidable every hour. The aristocratic party in the capital were prepared to rise against the government the moment Bravo appeared before its walls. The clergy were actually engaged in sowing the seeds of discord among the people; destroying their confidence in the existing dynasty by insidious and covert means.

At this dangerous crisis, January, 1828, General Guerrero was sent to quell the revolt; marching against the rebels, their forces seemed to melt away at his approach, like the mist before the rising sun, their power was broken, their men dispersed, and Bravo found himself no longer at the head of an army. By the energetic efforts of Guerrero the country was soon quieted and the constitution preserved. Bravo and his principal associates were banished from the republic they had sought to destroy by a decree of Congress.

The government of Spain beheld in these fatal dissensions so many evidences of returning affection for herself, and was actively engaged in concentrating forces at Cuba,

for the purpose of taking possession of her former dependency. Vessels were fitted out and manned with troops, emissaries were sent into Mexico to sustain the hopes of the partisans of Spain, and to gain adherents by promises of magnificent rewards of rank and wealth. The Mexican executive was warned betimes of the designs of the enemy, but destitute of ships of war, was unable to prevent their execution in the then condition of the national marine. Fortunately at this juncture the republic was able to secure the services of one whose reputation bore the prestige of success, and whose honesty, sincerity, and gallantry, has placed his name high upon the rolls of fame. This personage was Commodore David Porter, of the American navy, who entered the Mexican service, and by his individual efforts saved the country from the horrors of an invasion. During the years 1826–7–8–9, Com. Porter had command of the Mexican marine, and gave innumerable proofs of his zeal, activity, and fidelity to the republic.* "Captured Spanish vessels were constantly arriving in the harbor of Vera Cruz. Vessels of every description were taken upon the coast and even in the ports of Cuba, some of which were laden with rich cargoes. The prisons were filled with Spanish prisoners, and the military and naval forces collected for the reconquest of Mexico were required for the protection and defence of the commerce of Spain, and the island of Cuba. The revenue of the republic was greatly increased by the payment of duties upon Spanish prize goods, and the sale of prizes." Nor did this worthy veteran withdraw from the country, until he had lost one son in its service, another wounded and taken prisoner, a nephew killed in battle, and he himself

* The Mexican navy consisted in 1826, of nineteen vessels, one ship of the line, two frigates, one schooner, four gunboats, one corvette, four launches and two pilot boats. After Com. Porter left Mexico, the marine fell into disuse, and has never been respectable since that period.

subjected to great sufferings, and the dread of death from the knife of the assassin.*

On the 1st of September, 1828, the several states of the confederacy proceeded to elect a chief magistrate to succeed President Victoria, whose term would expire upon the following April. There were two candidates in the field for this important office: one of which, Manuel Gomez Pedraza, then Secretary of War and Marine, was supported by the Escoces faction. The Yorkinos brought forward General Vicente Guerrero, whose political opinions were decidedly democratic. The legislatures throughout the Republic were nearly equally divided; and, after a close contest between the parties upon this question, Pedraza was elected by a majority of two votes. This result did not satisfy the Yorkinos who claimed the office for their own candidate. The question was agitated in the rival lodges, where, concealed from the observation of the people, the members of either faction conspired against the tranquillity of the nation by plotting for the supremacy. The most distinguished of these partisans was General Santa Anna, and Lorenzo de Zavala, the grand master of the Yorkino lodge, both of whom were warm advocates of the federal system. These chiefs in conjunction with Guerrero, and generals Montezuma and Lobato, resolved to obtain possession of the helm of state at all hazards. President Victoria, although a Yorkino in principle, endeavored, but in vain, to still the tempest which threatened to annihilate the constitution and sweep away the political fabric which had been reared with so much blood and treasure.

In the autumn of 1828, General Santa Anna placing himself at the head of the garrison of Jalapa, and seizing upon the funds belonging to the state, denounced the

* Memoir of Commodore Porter to the American Secretary of State, February 24th, 1836.

election of Pedraza as illegal, fraudulent, and unconstitutional! He soon collected a powerful force, and taking possession of the castle of Perote, sent a division against Vera Cruz, where he had many personal and political friends. As the rebels advanced towards the city, the inhabitants were filled with consternation, founded on the assurance that it would be captured and given up to pillage. At this crisis the people of Vera Cruz found a protector in Commodore Porter, who, at the urgent solicitation of the governor and foreign residents, took command of the town and manned the fortifications with men drawn from the vessels of war then in port.* Upon the reception of this intelligence, the insurgents, who had anticipated an easy conquest and rich booty, in the opulent city of the true cross, halted in their march, and fortified themselves at Puente del Rey, intercepting all communication between the capital and the eastern coast; not daring, however, to advance beyond their position, to the great relief of the citizens, who had already beheld the spoiler at their gates. From his head-quarters at Perote, Santa Anna issued a manifesto, declaring his intention of marching upon the capital, and placing the Yorkino candidate upon the presidential chair by force of arms. For this, and other seditious acts, the government declared him an outlaw and an enemy to the Republic.† This spirited decree baffled the attempts of the Mexican Cataline for a time; his friends, being inspired with a wholesome dread of the executive power, withdrew their support, and left him to maintain the revolt unaided and alone. The greatest difficulty which impedes the progress of men of superior abilities in their advancement towards the objects of their ambition, is the inefficiency, obstinacy, or intractability, of the individuals they are

* Memoir of Commodore Porter.

† Zavala's Hist. of the Rev'n Nueva Espagna.

compelled to use as instruments. Such was Santa Anna's predicament· neither Guerrero, Bustamente, nor any of the Yorkino faction dared to come out boldly and second his efforts. In the meantime his forces were melting away, or wasting their energies by loitering in camp.

As the winter approached, the struggle between the rival parties assumed a fiercer character, and it soon became apparent that the contest could be settled in no other way than by the sword and bayonet. About the 1st of December, 1828, General Guerrero took the field in person, and, placing himself at the head of the Yorkino forces, advanced upon the capital. On the 4th of December, Santa Anna issued a pronunciamento against the election of Pedraza, and in favor of Guerrero and the federal system. The Escoces prepared to resist this violent method of obtaining the supreme power, and armed themselves for the conflict. But the hostile army was too strong to be kept beyond the walls by the feeble efforts of their adversaries. The Yorkinos entered the city, and for several days the streets of Mexico were deluged with the blood of the contending factions. The houses of the Escoces were pillaged, the Parian* was sacked, and full sway given to the licentious passions of a mob, composed of the most degraded population in the world. The leperos and banditti from the neighboring hills found work enough for their long knives, and rioted in the excess given to their lawless desires. Murder and rapine stalked abroad, and neither age nor sex was spared during this dreadful period. The rude scene finally terminated; Pedraza and his associates fled, leaving their rivals in possession of the coveted power.

* The Parian is a species of public pawn-broking establishment under protection of the government; it usually contains an immense quantity of very valuable property.

CHAPTER IX.

Conspiracy of the Escoces — Landing of a Spanish army under General Barradas — Santa Anna marches against him — Capitulation of the Spaniards — Revolt of Bustamente — Union of Santa Anna with the Rebels — Flight of Guerrero — Tyranny of Bustamente — Difficulties in the northern Provinces — War between the rival Parties — Capture and death of Guerrero.

The sovereign constituent Congress of Mexico met on the 1st of January, 1829, and on the 6th of the same month declared Vicente Guerrero, President of the republic, and Anastasio Bustamente, Vice-President. The flight of Pedraza, and the leading members of the aristocratic party, had removed the principal cause of discord, and the few months which preceded the close of Victoria's administration passed in comparative tranquillity.

On the 1st of April, 1829, Guerrero and his associate were inaugurated into office; General Montezuma was appointed secretary of war and marine, and General Santa Anna was placed in command at Vera Cruz. Lorenzo de Zavala was elected governor of the state of Mexico, and General Filisola, another distinguished federalist, commanded the military of the province.

The Escoces, although defeated by their opponents in the halls of Congress as well as in the field, still determined to continue the struggle, even at the cost of the independence of the country. Among other outrages against the safety of the republic, they maintained a treasonable correspondence with the Spanish authorities in the island

of Cuba, entering into a conspiracy with them for the purpose of bringing Mexico once more beneath the sway of a Bourbon prince. As they carried on their plot concealed under the sacred veil of a masonic temple, neither the nation nor the government were aware to what dangerous extremities the passions of these men had hurried them, until the footsteps of an invading army were heard upon their shores. Commodore Porter, disgusted with the perfidy and ingratitude of the people whom he had served with so much zeal and fidelity, had withdrawn from the country where he had "lost every thing that was valuable to him, except his self-respect and good name." After his departure, the Mexican gulf and adjacent coasts were unprotected by a single efficient vessel of war, and the Spaniards experienced no difficulty in throwing an army into the interior of the republic. An expedition was fitted out at Havanna in July, 1829, consisting of four thousand troops, commanded by General Barradas. The invaders landed at Tampico on the 27th, and meeting with no opposition, marched into the country, and encamped in a strong position. The Mexicans were taken by surprise by this bold enterprise, and for a time seemed incapable of resisting the advance of the enemy; recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown by this unexpected event, the supreme authorities dispatched General Santa Anna, with a competent force, against the Spaniards, at the same time using every precaution to prevent the Spanish faction from uniting with them. After a contest between the hostile armies, which never came to a general engagement, Barradas finding himself unsupported by the Escoces, and being destitute of the necessary supplies to carry on the war, was forced to surrender. The invading army laid down its arms on the 10th of September, and shortly afterwards were permitted to retire from the scene of its disgrace. Santa Anna returned to the capital covered with honors and renown.

The exigencies of the state had, in the opinion of the government, demanded an increase of the executive power, and Guerrero had, accordingly, assumed the style and authority of dictator. Notwithstanding the abortive attempt of the Spaniards to regain possession of Mexico, the Escoces were still conspiring to subvert the constitution. Aware of the machinations of this party, president Guerrero continued to exercise the extraordinary powers he had been invested with, when the country was threatened by a foreign army. This reluctance to resign the dictatorship served as a pretext for another revolution, which was headed by the vice-president, Bustamente. In December, 1829, this general, placing himself at the head of a division of the republican troops, *pronounced* against the administration, of which he was a member. The executive ordered Santa Anna to march against the rebels and reduce them to obedience, instead of which he at first feebly opposed, and finally fratrinized with Bustamente. The two generals, advancing upon the capital, forced the president to fly, leaving his rival in possession of the power, who was soon after elected his successor by the army. Guerrero retired to Valladolid de Mechoacan, where he organized a government in opposition to that of Bustamente, and again did Mexico behold her sons arrayed in deadly hostility.

The governor of the state of Mexico, Lorenzo de Zavala, was indicted by the grand jury, composed of members of Congress, as a traitor to the Republic, and General Filisola was sent with a party of troops, to apprehend him. The legislature of the state being in session, protested against this arbitrary measure, and the people collected to defend him; several conflicts ensued; the governor's mansion was surrounded by the soldiery, who were deterred by the crowd from effecting an entrance. In the midst of the tumult, Zavala made his escape, and, accompanied by a friend, fled to the mountains, from

whence he issued a manifesto in defence of his principles. By the flight of Zavala, the province of Mexico was left without an executive, and its affairs fell into the greatest disorder. Disturbances were also rife in the north.

On the 6th of April, 1830, the Mexican Congress, who had already become jealous of the growing importance of Texas, passed a law prohibiting the emigration of North Americans into that department. At the same time a strong division of troops crossed the Rio Grande, and spreading themselves throughout the country, annoyed the inhabitants with their exactions, and increased the irritation caused by the distrustful policy of the federal government. Congress adjourned on the 15th of April, leaving the Council of Government and Bustamente to rule the nation. The latter had already become a centralist, and intoxicated with his power, recognized no law superior to his own arbitrary will.

In September, the legislature of Coahuila and Texas was dissolved by force, and the members, who had opposed the tyrannical proceedings of the president, cast into prison without trial, and exposed to the greatest suffering and indignity. By these, and other acts of useless severity, the Mexicans were sowing dragons' teeth, which anon were to start up as armed men, and drive them beyond the confines of the Texan territory.

While Bustamente was thus paving the way for his own downfall by introducing innovations into the constitution, and trampling upon the rights of the people, the fugitive Guerrero was preparing to regain his authority by force of arms. He found no great difficulty in recruiting an army in Mechoacan, where he had endeared himself to the inhabitants by his defence of their lives and liberties during the civil wars which terminated in the destruction of the Spanish power; the old veteran, whose sword had never rusted in its sheath when the welfare of his country demanded its services, now turned

its point against the usurper of his rights, and took the field at the head of a formidable body of troops. During the winters of 1830–31, the republic was shaken to its centre by the struggles of the contending chiefs. The representatives in Congress were divided in opinion upon the claims of the rivals, and denounced each other with all the bitterness peculiar to such assemblies; the people of the provinces, who were also arrayed either upon the side of "York or Lancaster," awaited the result in anxious expectation. Bustamente dispatched a strong division against his enemy, and a battle ensued, in which Guerrero was defeated, his troops dispersed, and his party annihilated. Falling into the hands of his adversaries, he was summarily tried and condemned by a court martial, ordered by General Montezuma in February, 1831, for bearing arms against the government, of which he was *de jure* the supreme head! The sentence of the court was speedily executed, and the veteran of a hundred battles was shot down with as little compunction as if he had been a common spy, or a traitor to his colors.

The murder of this distinguished patriot was one of the blackest deeds that ever sullied the annals of any age or country. Guerrero had fought, bled, and suffered, in the cause of Mexican liberty, keeping its sacred fires alive among the marshes on the Zacatula, when they had been extinguished elsewhere throughout the land. He had withstood the power of Spain unaided and alone, when every other leader had succumbed to the enemy, or overcome by the adverse current of events, had retired from the contest. It was his name and his followers which gave to Iturbide the means of shaking off the chains that bound Mexico to the Peninsula; to his exertions the republic was indebted to its escape from the horrors of many a rebellion; and this was his reward! He fell a victim to the diabolical passions of a faction, which had first been invoked in his name to

protect the sacred cause of which he was the high priest; and with him perished the last hope of the friends of the constitution and the federal system. It is a singular fact, which distinguishes the history of this country from all others, that but a single individual, among the host of chiefs who have risen, conquered, and perished, has had the happiness of dying in his bed; his compeers having almost without an exception, fallen by the hands of their own countrymen: "revolutions, like the god Saturn, devour their own offspring." The natural consequence this of that ferocity which is always engendered by civil wars, the actors in them being constrained to destroy their rivals that they themselves may live.

CHAPTER X.

Fall of Bustamente — Elevation of Gomez Pedraza to the Presidency — Struggles of the Factions — Death of General Teran — Santa Anna elected President — Zavala's Bill to cut down the revenues of the Church — Sudden conversion of Santa Anna — Expenses of the Army — Cruel Treatment of the Government to the Texan Envoy.

After the death of his rival, Bustamente enjoyed his triumph for a brief period in tranquillity. In pursuance of the policy he had adopted from the beginning of his administration, he assumed the authority of a despotic prince, relying upon the bayonets of the soldiery for the execution of his tyrannical decrees. He had conceived an unfavorable opinion of the colonists of Texas, chiefly from their known hostility to the changes he was bent upon introducing into the constitution. With a view of keeping them in subjection, he increased the strength of the military in that province, and placed it under the command of General Manuel Mier y Teran. The presence of the Mexican troops proved a constant source of irritation to the Texans, who neither feared or respected a government whose existence depended upon the will of a hireling soldiery. This feeling was increased by the reckless disregard of the commandants for the authority of the civil power, which was set aside whenever it conflicted with their designs; and many outrages were perpetrated against the majesty of the laws and the rights of the people. Teran rendered himself very obnoxious by his endeavors to force the colonists into a compliance

with the commands of the general government, which he was bound to obey, so long as he remained in its service. The Texans, however, did not venture to resist the authority of Mexico, until the retirement of Teran from the province, with a large portion of the forces under his orders. After his departure, the country was left in charge of colonels Bradburn, Piedras, and Ugartachea; the former at this period, (1831,) commanded the garrison at Anahuac, on Galveston Bay; the two latter were stationed at Nacogdoches and Velasco, where they established custom-houses and levied oppressive duties upon all goods imported for the use of the colonies.

The tyrannical administration of Bustamente, in the mean time, was drawing to its close; the federalists denounced him as an enemy to the republic, and soon succeeded in arousing the people against him. General Santa Anna, believing that the hour had at last arrived which was to witness the consummation of his ambitious designs, suddenly issued a *pronunciamento* against his former friend, and took the field in support of his declarations in the latter part of this year. Bustamente advanced to meet him with a formidable force; the hostile armies joined battle at Tolomi, and the rebels were defeated. With characteristic energy, Santa Anna retreated to Vera Cruz, and, reorganizing his shattered battalions, prepared to renew the struggle. On the 2d of January, 1832, he declared in favor of the constitution, and Gomez Pedraza, as president of the republic. The revolt soon became general, and thousands rushed to the insurgent camp. Bustamente's party diminished every hour, and he wisely determined to bend to the storm he was incapable of successfully resisting. Without venturing upon another engagement, he demanded a conference with his adversary, which resulted in the abdication of his seat and the elevation of Pedraza to the supreme authority.

On the 25th of June, the people living on the Brazos,

exasperated by the exactions of the Mexican officials, made an attack upon the fort at Velasco, which capitulated on the following day. The garrisons at Anahuac and Nacogdoches were also compelled to evacuate the province of Texas, which had declared in favor of Santa Anna and the constitution, in opposition to the soldiery. This saved the country from the horrors of an invasion,—as the disturbances which had taken place were attributed to the zeal of the colonists for the party then in the ascendant. The friends of Bustamente continuing to wage an unsuccessful war in support of his claims, the whole confederacy was thrown into confusion, and scarcely any notice was taken of the revolt which had occurred in this obscure and distant part of the republic.

Among those who advocated the central system in Mexico, was General Teran, one of the most enterprising soldiers of the day, and whose exploits have already been recorded. While marching to the relief of his chief, Teran encountered General Montezuma, who was a partisan of the opposite faction, and a desperate conflict ensued. The former was surrounded, and his troops cut in pieces. Fighting at the head of his columns with the courage of despair, which availed nothing against the overwhelming force of the enemy, Teran continued to struggle until all hope was lost, when disdaining to save himself by flight or yield a prisoner, the heroic Mexican fell upon his own sword.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the centralists, their adversaries obtained a signal triumph, and Gomez Pedraza entered the capital as the chief magistrate of the republic, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. His administration, which continued but a few months, was not remarkable for its energy or activity; the president was a mere tool of Santa Anna, who had placed him in office, and who was rewarded for the deed by receiving the support of the executive as his successor, that general being

the federal candidate for the presidency. Santa Anna was invested with the supreme power in the spring of 1833, and his elevation was hailed as the consummation of the revolution which had re-established the constitution and the laws. The hopes of the lovers of peace and good government were doomed to meet with a bitter disappointment, more poignant from its bursting upon them suddenly, like the eruption of one of their own volcanoes.

Santa Anna, whose character bears a striking resemblance to that of Lucius Cataline, the Roman conspirator* —at first endeavored to reduce the republic to obedience; levying a large body of troops for the ostensible purpose of defending the constitution, but they were intended to participate in its destruction. During the year 1833, several *pronunciamentos* were issued in favor of centralism by the chiefs of that faction. The clergy were also arrayed against the administration, and by their intrigues fomented disturbances in several parts of the confederacy. The discontent of this class was aggravated by an attempt made in Congress by the democratic members to reduce the revenues of the church. Lorenzo de Zavala, who was a representative from Yucatan, introduced a bill to this effect into Congress. The priesthood becoming alarmed attempted to bribe the member with a large sum of money to withdraw his obnoxious measure. This patriotic senator refused to listen to them, and they then applied to Santa Anna, whose policy was suddenly changed, and instead of being a scoffer and an enemy to the church, he became one of her most devoted champions, signalizing his repentance by marching in solemn state to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe! Zavala's bill was crushed by

*"Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigilæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Anamus audax, subdolus, varius, cujuslibit rei simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus ardens in cupiditatibus; satis loquentiæ sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.—Sallust de Bel. Jugurthi.

the President, and its originator appointed minister to France. In the autumn of 1833, the enemies of the government took the field and Santa Anna advanced in person against them, at the head of a strong division; while on the route to Guanajuato the army proclaimed him dictator. He was too crafty, however, to accept a title which would have exposed him to the attacks of his republican adherents, and converted them into foes. After he had succeeded in dispersing the forces of the malcontents, he concentrated the troops in the vicinity of the capital for the purpose of overawing his colleagues and the people, should they attempt to resist his arbitrary designs. The expenses of the army during this year, were seventeen millions of dollars, an immense sum to be expended in that way, when we consider the poverty of the nation, and its pacific relations with the neighboring states.

In the spring of this year the people of Texas, after a full examination of their resources and population, and of the law and constitution, petitioned the Mexican Congress for admission into the confederation as a separate state. The empresario, Stephen Austin, was appointed a commissioner to present the claims of the Texans to the general government. The congress referred the petition to a committee, by whom it was consigned to oblivion. After remaining in the capital for some months, without obtaining an answer to the prayer of those he represented, Austin wrote to the authorities of Bexar, to organize the province into a state without waiting for the consent of the government. The letter conveying this advice, falling into the hands of a treacherous enemy, was sent to Mexico from San Antonio de Bexar, and Austin was arrested at Saltillo, while on his road homewards, taken back to the capital and imprisoned for one year, three months of which he passed in solitary confinement in a dark dungeon of the building formerly appropriated to the dismal uses of the inquisition. *Nine months elapsed before he was informed*

of the charges preferred against him! Thus did Mexico trample upon the rights of her citizens, wantonly insulting her province by violating the liberty of one who represented its inhabitants. The right of petition which is inseparable from a condition of political freedom, can in no instance be denied without jeopardizing the liberty of a free people; and Mexico ceased to be governed by the principles set forth in the constitution, the moment her Congress refused to consider the prayers of the Texans. The latter were filled with indignation by the outrage perpetrated upon the person of their commissioner, and it would have required no great prophetic power to have foretold the issue of this monstrous policy. Even under these aggravated circumstances the people beyond the Rio Grande refrained from making use of the sacred, though dangerous appeal to arms, which is the last and only remedy left to freemen, when their rulers, possessing both the power and the will, refuse to listen to their demands, and trample upon their inherent rights.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Congress of 1834—Collusion of the Clergy and the Military to subvert the Constitution—Dissensions in the Government—Dissolution of Congress by Santa Anna—Disarming of the People—Rising of the Provinces—The people of Zacatecas take up Arms—Defeat of the Zacatecans by Santa Anna—Decree of 1835—Revolt of the Texans—Capture of Bexar and Goliad.

The Mexican Congress which convened at the capital on the first day of the year 1834, was decidedly republican and federal in its character; and strongly prepossessed in favor of the distinguished chief whose destiny had placed him at the head of the nation. The friends of Bustamente, and the central system, had been driven from the field, and their leader himself had withdrawn from the republic. Santa Anna and the Vice President, Gomez Farias, seemed as happily united in their political opinions as they were known to be in their social relations. The oppressive policy pursued by the preceding administration had taught them the danger they were exposed to from the ambition of those entrusted with the executive authority, and the representatives were determined to maintain the principles of the constitution inviolate.

During the early part of the session the legislative and administrative powers labored harmoniously together for the public good. The army was devoted to the interests

of the government, and kept the factious leaders of the opposition from disturbing the repose which reigned in the land. There was a certain class, however, who were not to be intimidated by the array of armed battalions, or the decrees of a republican Senate, from the prosecution of an artful policy which had no sympathy with democratic institutions.

The class referred to was the Clergy, who beheld the precursor of their own spoliation in the re-establishment of the constitution. The bill introduced into Congress by Zavala, during the last session, warned them of the danger their hoarded treasures were exposed to from the innovating spirit of democracy, whose tendency is ever onward over the ruins of all that is venerable and exclusive in human affairs. The leveling doctrines of the Federalists had never found favor in the eyes of the spiritual lords of Mexico, whose pride acknowledged no temporal superior, save he of Rome, and whose power was the growth of a different soil from that fertilized by the genial influences which flow from the fountain of liberty.

With many a subtle argument, and many a bribe, they gradually undermined the virtue of the feeble patriots who listened to their pernicious counsels, and in a few weeks they succeeded in swelling the ranks of the Centralists, in the Legislature, to a formidable number. A majority of the members, however, remained deaf to their entreaties, and mindful of their oaths firmly supported the constitution and the laws. Santa Anna had already granted a parley and yielded to their demands, happy in the hope of rising to supreme power by the aid of so potent an ally, able and willing to shed the odour of sanctity around his iniquitous deeds. Gomez Farias was made of different stuff, and stoutly resisted the threats and promises of his Janus-faced superior, and his cunning auxiliaries, for which his fate was sealed.

Towards the close of the session, the President and Con-

gress came in violent collision; the former assumed prerogatives which did not belong to him, and the latter resisted his encroachments upon the liberties of the people with energy and ability. Irritated by the opposition of the legislature, Santa Anna, on the 13th of May, 1834, dissolved that body in a most unwarrantable manner. On the following day the Council of Government was dispersed by a military order of the same personage, thus placing the country under the control of a single individual who was vicious enough to undo half the world.

The President had achieved his purpose, and centred in his own person the civil and military power of the republic. The army at his disposal overawed the people, who beheld their usurpations with impotent rage, and were constrained to submit when resistance was hopeless. In this dismal kind of freedom the Mexicans passed the remainder of the year which had opened so gloriously upon the nation.

On the 1st of January, 1835, a new Congress, which had been summoned by Santa Anna, assembled at Mexico; it was composed of deputies who were devoted to the interests of the clergy, the aristocracy, and the executive. Petitions were presented from several parts of the country in favor of centralism and national reform. These were formed by the priests and the military stationed in the provinces, who exerted their influence in support of a government peculiarly their own. Several of the states of the confederacy protested against the revolutionary proceedings of the supreme authorities, and called upon congress to maintain the constitution.

The former petitions were graciously received, while the latter were disregarded and their authors persecuted and imprisoned. The Federalists in congress in vain endeavored to stem the tide which was sweeping away every vestige of that liberty which had been purchased with the blood of thousands. Their venal colleagues derided their remon-

strances, and consummated their villainy by passing a decree deposing Gomez Farias, the Vice-President of the Republic, without impeachment or trial, and elevating Miguel Barragan in his place. The former, who was a staunch Federalist, was compelled to fly in order to preserve his life. This unjust edict was followed by another uniting the upper and lower houses into one chamber, which assumed, when thus organized, the plenary powers of a national convention. In virtue of the authority they had invested themselves with, the deputies proceeded to demolish the constitution of 1824, and to lay the foundations of a central military despotism upon its ruins.

In pursuance of this policy, it became necessary to place sufficient power in the hands of the supreme executive to enforce the decrees of the senate. A law was therefore passed, disarming the militia of the several states, so that the people, having no means of resistance, would be obliged to submit.

The militia of most countries could be well spared, and those of Mexico were not an exception to the citizen soldiery of other lands: it was nevertheless an act of gross tyrrany to deprive a nation of the weapons with which the government had entrusted them, and it betrayed a want of confidence in them insulting alike to their pride as Mexicans and their dignity as freemen. Several insurrections followed these odious edicts, the inhabitants of Puebla, Jalisco, Oaxaca, Mexico proper, and Zacatecas took up arms in defence of their liberties, but they were unable to stand before the trained legions of Santa Anna, which scattered their tumultuary forces before the thunder of their cannon. In Zacatecas alone, did the people gather around the prostrate altar of freedom, with a determination to avenge the wrongs of their bleeding country upon the heads of those who had sacrificed their rights upon the shrine of bigotry and mammon.

In the month of April the Zacatecans unfurled the standard of the republic, and mustered in strong force within

the walls of their opulent city. Santa Anna marched against the insurgents with an army composed of the *elite* of the veteran troops under his command. The malcontents fortified a mountain pass a short distance from the town, and waited the advance of the enemy behind their works. If they had remained in this position, the result of the campaign would have been different, for the defile leading to the city was surrounded by steep and lofty hills, which formed an impassable barrier to the approach of a hostile party. From some inexplicable reason, the patriots left this secure station, and marching into a small plain between the pass and the convent of *the Friars of Guadalupe*, encamped in an exposed situation.* Santa Anna soon made his appearance, and pitched his tents on the opposite extremity of the valley, which was scarcely a mile in width. For several days the two armies remained in sight of each other, neither willing to begin the bloody fray upon which so much depended.

The Zacatecans becoming careless sent their cavalry out of the camp to graze their horses, and relaxing the vigilance so essential to their safety, slumbered heavily, unconscious of danger. At the dead of night Santa Anna mustered his men, and advancing in silence along the edge of the plain close to the base of the mountains, he threw a strong division between the sleeping patriots and the city. About the dawn of day, as the light of a May morning was trembling in the east, the stillness was broken by the startling report of the enemy's cannon, volley after volley was poured in rapid succession into the disordered ranks of the Zacatecans, who suddenly awakened to the dread reality of their condition, ran to and fro in the utmost confusion and were shot down by the fire upon their front and rear. A small number of the patriots forming in line of battle returned the enemy's volleys

* It is said that the Zacatecans were decoyed into the plain by the treachery of their leader, who was, it is asserted, in the confidence of Santa Anna.

with such success that he was forced to fall back with the loss of several hundred killed and wounded. Renewing the charge with augmented numbers, the Zacatecans surrounded upon all sides were compelled to throw down their arms and cry for quarter. The victorious general entered the town with his troops, who committed the most horrid excesses; women were openly violated, their husbands and brothers who sought to protect them, cut in pieces before their eyes; the narrow streets were filled with blood, and neither age nor sex escaped the rude assaults of the rapacious and licentious soldiery.

Disarming the people, and placing a military governor over the province, Santa Anna, elated with his late victory, now turned his energies toward the conquest of Texas, in the hope of adding to the glory which had already dazzled the eyes of his countrymen. The legislatures of the States of Coahuila and Texas had been disturbed for the past year by the contests of the Federalists and Centralists, the latter had retired from Monclova, the capital of the province, to Saltillo, where they had organized an opposition government, denouncing their colleagues as enemies to the supreme authority of the Mexican nation, represented by General Santa Anna and the vice-president Don Miguel Barragan. The Federalists continued to meet at Monclova and elected Augustin Viesca, governor of the commonwealth, who entered upon his duties in defiance of the threats of the hostile faction, who had appointed a military man to the executive office. The affairs of the state were in this condition, when General Cos, who commanded the troops cantoned at Saltillo, issued a manifesto breathing vengeance against Viesca and his supporters, whom he accused of opposing the decree for disarming of the militia, and of secreting the person of Gomez Farias. For these, and other misdemeanors, General Cos dispersed the legislature by force of arms, and seizing Viesca and his suite, who were flying toward the Rio Grande, he cast them into prison where they remained at his mercy. The Texans beheld these proceedings with ill-disguised indignation, and

when the Mexican troops subsequently entered the province, they determined to resist even unto death.

Such was the posture of the frontiers when the plan of Toluca was published, which abolished the Federal system and established the Central consolidated government upon its wreck. The outlines of the new organization as promulgated in a decree of a later period is as follows:

"His Excellency, the President *ad interim* of the Mexican United States, to the inhabitants of the Republic. Know ye that the General Congress has decreed the following:

"Art. 1st. The present governors of the states shall continue, notwithstanding the time fixed by the constitution may have expired; but they shall be dependent for the exercise of their attributes upon the supreme authority of the nation.

"Art. 2d. The legislatures shall immediately cease to exercise their legislative functions; but before dissolving they shall appoint a *department council*, composed for the present of five individuals, chosen either within or without their own body, to act as a council to the governor; and in case of a vacancy in that office, they shall propose to the supreme general government three persons possessed of the qualifications hitherto required; and until an appointment be made, the gubernatorial powers shall be exercised by the first on the list who is not an ecclesiastic.

"Art. 3d. In those states where the legislature cannot be assembled within eight days, the *Ayuntamiento** of the capital shall act in its place only for the purpose of electing the five individuals of the department council.

"Art. 4th. All the judges and tribunals of the states, and the administration of justice, shall continue as hitherto, until the organic law relative to this branch be formed. The responsibilities of the functionaries, which could only be investigated before Congress, shall be referred to and decided before the supreme court of the nation.

"Art. 5th. All the subaltern officers of state shall also con-

* Municipal authorities.

tinue for the present, (the places which are vacant, or may be vacated, not to be filled) but they, as well as the officers, revenues, and branches under their charge, shall remain subject to, and at the disposal of, the supreme government of the nation, by means of their respective governors. God and liberty.

City of Mexico, Oct. 3, 1835.

(Signed) MIGUEL BARRAGAN,
President ad interim.

M. DIAS DE BONILLA,
Secretary Interior Departm't."

This despotic edict overthrew all the barriers erected for the protection of the masses against their rulers, letting in upon them once more the stygian waters of a bygone age, which were to nourish the foul seeds of superstition, ignorance, and slavery. It may be wondered at that the Mexicans would submit to so gross an outrage upon their liberties without a struggle, but when we reflect that more than four millions of their mongrel population is composed of semi-barbarous Indians, and that another three millions consists of various *castes*, who boast of every shade of color, our wonder must cease, and pity assume the place of scorn.

The republic was now under the sway of a military despot, who, supported by fifteen thousand bayonets, and as many shaven crowns, bade defiance to the world, and swelling with exultation, announced himself the Napoleon of the south. The people, filled with consternation, obeyed his mandates in silence, and like men tempest tost at sea, without chart or compass, or a beacon to guide them on their way, they lost all hope and submitted themselves to every passing wind. Yet had they looked to the north they would have seen a single *star* shining through the cheerless gloom, which, had they followed, would have guided them in safety into the haven which in the olden time sheltered the barks of their Scythian ancestors.

General Cos entered Texas at the close of September, and threw a strong force into the town of San Antonio de Bexar, and prepared to enforce the requisitions of the government, demanding in addition, the surrender of Lorenzo de Zavala—who had resigned his mission to France and had retired to this province—as a traitor to the republic. To this the Texans demurred, and mustered to resist the Mexican troops, should they persist in attempting to coerce them to obey the iniquitous mandates of the central power. Committees of safety and vigilance were organized throughout the colonies, and every weapon prepared for the contest. On the 27th, Captain Castonado appeared with a small division before the town of Gonzales, a place on the eastern bank of the Rio Guadalupe, and made a formal demand in the name of the political chief of Bexar, for the deliverance of a piece of ordnance which had been entrusted to their keeping. He was told to await the return of the Alcalde, and in the meantime encamped upon a plain on the opposite bank of the river. The Texans crossed the stream in the evening, and an action was fought on the following morning, in which the Mexicans were defeated and put to the rout.

At midnight, on the 9th of October, a party of Texans fifty two in number, attacked the strong fortress of Goliad, and after a short contest carried it by storm, capturing two brass field-pieces, three hundred stand of muskets, twenty one prisoners, and ten thousand dollars worth of munitions and stores. In the latter end of the same month an army of Texans under General Austin, advanced upon the city of Bexar; it was composed of planters residing upon the Brazos and the Guadalupe, who had mustered in haste, at the call of their country, and were unprovided with the artillery necessary to reduce a town of such strength. On the 28th of October a corps of observation consisting of ninety-two men under Colonels Fannin and Bowie, encountered a division of four hundred

Mexicans near the Mission of Conception, and after a brilliant engagement during which both parties displayed great courage, the enemy's cannon were silenced, and his forces driven from the field, with loss. These reverses rendered the besieged more cautious, and confident of their ability to defend the place they remained behind its walls. The Empresario attempted to open a communication with General Cos, but he was told by that personage that he could hold no conference with the Texans whilst they remained in arms against his authority. Failing in this, the former laid formal siege to the city in the hope of bringing the haughty Mexican to terms.

On the 3d of November, 1835, the delegates of the people assembled at San Felipe de Austin, and issued a solemn declaration against "Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, and other military chieftains, who had, by force of arms, overthrown the Federal institutions of Mexico, and dissolved the social compact which existed between Texas and the other members of the Mexican Confederacy." Asserting that the Texans had taken up arms in defence of the Constitution of 1824: and that they would not cease to carry on the war while the centralist troops remained in the province.

On the 8th of the same month another action was fought near Bexar, in which the enemy were worsted and driven into the town. These continued successes raised the spirits of the assailants, and taught them to despise the courage of Cos and his myrmidons; and after defeating them again on the 26th they determined to take the town by storm, albeit they were without battering cannon, or heavy ordnance, for breaching the walls. On the 5th of December—having been reinforced by some volunteers from the United States, they attacked Bexar with a division of three hundred men under Colonel Milam, who forced their way into the great square, and after a desperate struggle obliged the enemy to retire within the fortress of the Alamo, on the opposite bank of the river which runs through the city. Receiving a reinforcement

of three hundred men under Ugartachea, Cos raised the "black flag" and opened a tremendous fire from the guns of the fort. Day and night he kept up an incessant discharge, which was answered by the besiegers with equal energy, and more effect. The struggle continued with undiminished ardor for several days, the Mexicans fighting with desperate courage, and their foes with the perseverance of men determined to conquer. The ceaseless roll of the enemy's cannon proclaimed the energy of his resistance, but the besiegers were not to be driven from their purpose. Finding it useless to contend against such active assailants, General Cos becoming disheartened struck the black ensign, raised the snowy emblem of peace, and vouchsafed a parley. Commissioners were appointed to treat for a surrender, and on the 11th, a formal capitulation was signed, by which the Mexican general and the thirteen hundred men under his command were allowed to retire beyond the Rio Grande. The sick and wounded were permitted to remain under charge of the medical staff of their own army. The money, arms, public stores, and munitions were delivered up to the victors; who restored the property which had been taken from the people of Bexar to those who claimed it. The campaign terminated with the fall of the Alamo, and the Texans retired to their homes leaving a small force to garrison the town

CHAPTER II.

Mexia's Expedition against Tampico — Death of twenty-eight of his Men — Santa Anna invades Texas — Siege of the Alamo — Bravery of the Garrison — Fall of the Alamo — Organization of a separate Government in Texas — That State Declares her Independence — Retreat of the Texans — Advance of the Mexicans — Battle of San Jacinto — Capture of Santa Anna.

On the 13th of November, 1835, General Mexia landed at Tampico at the head of a hundred and thirty men, two-thirds of whom were Americans, and being joined by a party of Mexicans, he made an attack upon the defences of the place, and carried it by assault. His men, however, were no soldiers, and had been trepanned into the service by a treacherous agent at New Orleans, having been decoyed to Tampico when they anticipated landing in Texas.

Mexia issued a pronunciamento against Santa Anna, which being coldly received, the officer in command of the city recovered from his panic, and recaptured the fort, the strangers throwing down their arms and surrendering without a blow. The leaders of the expedition fled, leaving their men at the mercy of the enemy. The latter were tried by a court martial, and twenty-eight of their number were put to death, although they solemnly denied all knowledge of the designs of Mexia in disturbing the tranquillity of the country.

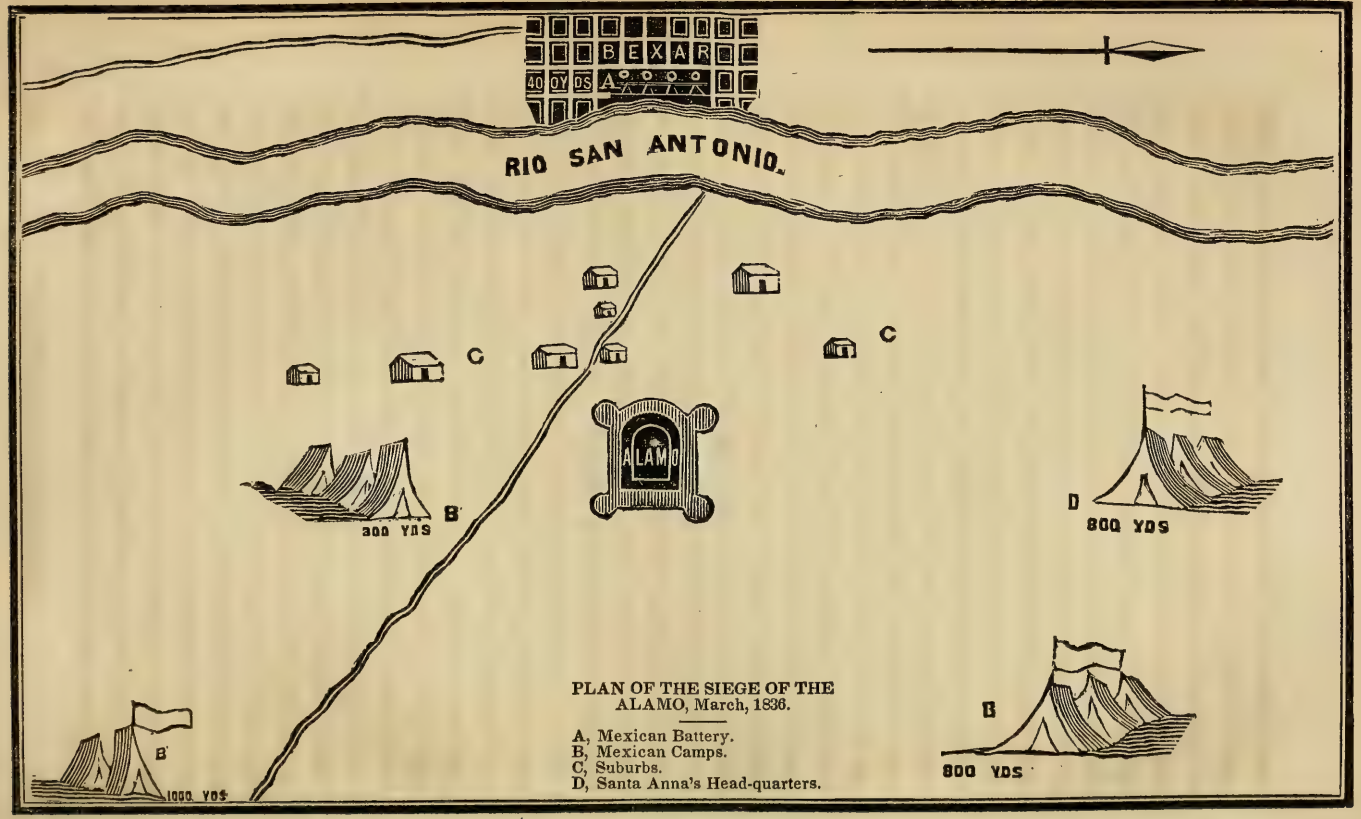
The forced evacuation of Texas by General Cos, and the attempt of Mexia upon Tampico, hastened the preparation of Santa Anna for the subjugation of the rebellious

province. With great difficulty, and the expenditure of much treasure, he mustered an army of ten thousand men, which was supported by a heavy train of artillery. In a fatal hour the order for the invasion was issued, and placing himself at the head of his columns, Santa Anna crossed the Rio Grande. Passing with celerity through the treeless plains lying to the eastward of that stream, the advanced guard of the Mexican army suddenly appeared before the walls of San Antonio de Bexar, on the 21st of February, 1836, and entering the town, drove the Texans into the Alamo. So unexpected had been their approach, that the latter were taken by surprise, and so entirely unprepared for a siege, that they had not three bushels of corn for their subsistence. General Sezma summoned them to surrender at discretion, upon pain of being put to the sword. Colonel Travis, who commanded the Texans, answered this demand with a cannon shot, and announced his determination never to surrender or retreat!

On the 23d the Mexicans opened their batteries and plied them with unremitting energy; but the walls of the fortress were strong, and the missiles fell harmless upon them. The day after, Col. Travis called upon his compatriots in the name of liberty, of patriotism, and of every thing dear to the American character, to come to his aid with all dispatch. He closed his manly appeal in language worthy of a Leonidas;—"Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible, and die like a soldier, who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country!" The enemy continuing to receive reinforcements, invested the fortress on all sides; the air was darkened with the constant shower of shot and shell poured into the devoted fort. The Texans, after fighting ten days, had not lost a single man, while hundreds of their foes lay festering upon the plain. On the 1st of March the besieged were reinforced by a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales, which swelled their number to a

hundred and fifty. This was the only aid they received during the struggle; Colonel Fannin, who was at Goliad, thirty leagues distant, had attempted to march to the relief of Bexar with a division of four hundred men, but had been compelled to forego the enterprise and take care of himself. The rear guard of his army arriving upon the scene, Santa Anna raised a "blood red banner" upon the church of Bexar and in his camp, in token of his waging a war of vengeance and extermination against the rebellious Texans, who had defied his power and laughed his threats to scorn. Notwithstanding the efforts which were made by the Mexican troops for the reduction of the fortress, its old walls still frowned defiance, and the flag of its defenders still waved proudly above the smoke and din of the fierce battle which roared beneath.

Aware of the danger of leaving a stronghold, like the Alamo, garrisoned by such desperate men in his rear, General Santa Anna resolved to attempt to carry it by storm, at any sacrifice. The Texans, worn out and dispirited by constant watching and fatigue, were reposing upon their faithful rifles; the red glare of the enemy's fires shone dimly through the murky air, and the shrill cry of his sentinels mingled with the dismal howl of the wolf; when the silence of midnight was broken by the dull tramp of the advancing foe. As the besieged looked over the walls, they beheld the dark masses which composed the columns of attack creeping slowly onward, like a huge serpent, about to crush them in its deadly folds. During this memorable day, the 5th of March, they had fought with their usual vigor, and as they had by this time given up all hope of receiving succours from their compatriots, they looked death in the face and sternly awaited his approach. Placing his bravest men in the front, the Mexican leader gave the signal for the assault, the trumpets sounded a charge and they rushed on to the walls. With a shout which rent the air, and rose high above the enemy's bu-



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF THE ALAMO, March, 1836.

A, Mexican Battery.
B, Mexican Camps.
C, Suburbs.
D, Santa Anna's Head-quarters.



gles, the Texans applied their matches to their guns, and a broad sheet of flame lighted up the scene, for an instant revealing the swarthy faces of the Mexicans, distorted by terror and the hateful passion of revenge, as they crowded below the walls in the vain endeavor to plant their scaling-ladders.

A storm of iron hail rained down upon them, and beat whole battalions to the ground, and forced back the dusky swarm upon their supporting columns. Again the Mexican trumpets rang out the charge, and again did the veterans of Zacatecas and Vera Cruz advance upon the cannon of the fort; volley after volley rolled in ceaseless thunder from their brazen mouths, mingled with the sharp rattle of the Texan rifles. Already had Santa Anna lost a thousand of his best troops, and still the besieged shouted defiance.—Travis, wounded and bleeding, yet stood upon the battlements, waving his bloody sword above his head, encouraging his men to fight to the last gasp. Conscious of ultimately triumphing over his desperate enemy, the Mexican leader pushed on his columns, and marked the rapidly diminishing number of the Texans with savage exultation. After many abortive efforts, the besiegers finally succeeded in planting their ladders against the walls, and as the stars began to pale before the light of coming day, they mounted the defence and poured over them in a resistless stream. Discharging the contents of their rifles into the advancing mass, the few Texans who still survived grasped their weapons by the barrels and beat down the foremost ranks. The death struggle was very brief, in a little time but seven naggard beings could be seen; weakened by the loss of blood, and exhausted by the unequal combat, they cried for quarter. The Mexicans refused to spare them. Retreating to an angle of the Alamo, and placing their backs to the walls, they continued to defend themselves with their knives, until they fell in the arms of death upon the gory pile of enemies their valor had raised about them.

Their bodies were stripped naked, and after some of them had been barbarously mutilated, they were heaped together and burned.

The capture of the Alamo cost Santa Anna fifteen hundred of his best men, and convinced him of the difficulty he must encounter in subduing a country defended by such desperate and valiant soldiers. Impressed with this idea, he dispatched a messenger to General Houston, who was then mustering an army at Gonzales, offering the Texans peace if they would lay down their arms and submit.—His offer was rejected with disdain. On the 18th of March, Colonel Fannin, with a division of three hundred troops, was attacked in an open plain by General Urea, at the head of a strong body of cavalry and infantry. Surrounded on all sides, the party commanded by Fannin fought under many disadvantages for several hours, and kept the enemy at a distance by the coolness and accuracy with which they delivered their fire. Night found the hostile forces in this position. On the following morning the Texans capitulated, under a solemn guarantee of being treated with respect, and being sent to the United States as soon as means of transportation could be procured. Major Ward, of the Georgia battalion, who had been sent to the mission of Refugio with his command, to reinforce a company under Captain King, was compelled to retreat, and finally to surrender to an overwhelming force. The prisoners were disarmed, and marched back to Goliad on the evening of the 19th, and confined in the chapel of the fortress.

After suffering every privation and indignity that could be heaped upon them, the Texans, four hundred in number, were massacred in cold blood by the orders of the Mexican general-in-chief.

While these brave men were thus devoting themselves to death upon the Rio San Antonio, the authorities of the province were engaged in debating the details of a constitution, and did not send a single man to the relief of the garrisons

of Goliad and Bexar. This criminal apathy was inexcusable, and can never be forgotten by the friends of those brave men. On the 2d of March, 1836, the representatives of the people of Texas assembled at Washington on the Brazos, and made a formal declaration of independence, and after signing the constitution, organized a provisional government. The enemy leaving a strong force at Bexar, under General Andrade, marched in three divisions toward the eastern settlements. The advance guard, consisting of eight hundred men commanded by General Sezma, appeared upon the Colorado and encamped opposite the Texans under Houston, whose army was then nearly double that of the former. Retreating to the Brazos they avoided an engagement with the Mexicans, who occupied the whole country between their position and the coast. The troops, upon whose conduct at this crisis the salvation of Texas depended, were reduced by this time to a fraction above eight hundred men, and whole companies deserted the army during the retreat from the Colorado. Those who remained were dissatisfied with the plans of their leader, who wished to fall back upon the Sabine and reinforce his division with the "five thousand sleeping rifles" from the frontiers of Louisiana. This policy was violently opposed by those who resided upon the Brazos and neighboring streams, and the camp exhibited a scene of distraction and tumultuous confusion which would have proved highly gratifying to the enemy, could they have witnessed it. Through the prudent exertions of General Rusk, order and discipline were finally restored, and a compromise effected between Houston and his command.

The main body of the Mexican troops, four thousand in number, under General Filisola, were on the lower part of the Brazos, pillaging the towns and plantations, and spreading desolation on every side. This wing of the *corps d' armée* was composed of the divisions of Urea, Sezma, and Gaona; their soldiery were suffering for want of supplies, and exhausted by fatiguing marches across the wet and

marshy plains. Another corps, commanded by Santa Anna and Cos, were on the San Jacinto, fifty miles distant, burning and destroying the property of the fugitive Texans.—Breaking up his camp on the 15th of April, Houston made a forced march in pursuit of the enemy, and moving day and night, on the 20th bivouacked upon the San Jacinto. While engaged in slaughtering cattle, the Texans—who had eaten nothing for forty-eight hours—were startled by the approach of Santa Anna's army. Halting his men in a clump of woods, the Mexican leader opened a fire upon the former from a brass twelve pounder. His infantry attempted to charge under cover of the cannonade, but were repulsed by a volley from the hostile lines. Retiring a short distance, they encamped with their right resting upon a belt of timber which skirted the river; their left was protected by a breastwork hastily constructed of packs and camp equipage, an opening in the centre was occupied by the ordnance; while a squadron of cavalry were picketed upon the plain on the extreme left of the whole. The position was an excellent one, and as strong as the prudence of Santa Anna deemed necessary; in fact his troops, elated with their late successes, could scarcely be restrained within the lines. This was also the case with the Texans, who made a demonstration with their cavalry about sunset, but were forced to retire, with the loss of several horses and two men badly wounded. At 9 o'clock on the following day, General Cos formed a junction with his leader, swelling his force to fifteen hundred men. At half past three o'clock, on the afternoon of the 21st, the Texan army, consisting of seven hundred infantry and sixty-one cavalry, were drawn up in battle array. The horsemen, under Colonel Lamar, were thrown in advance of the enemy's left; the artillery (two six pounders) was posted within two hundred yards of the Mexican camp, and opened a destructive fire of grape and canister, under cover of which the infantry, commanded by Colonels Sherman and Burleson, advanced in double quick time. The Mexicans

endeavored to check their progress by a volley from their lines, which being badly delivered, proved ineffectual.—Shouting the war cry of "Remember the Alamo," the Texans charged within point blank shot before they answered the enemy's fire, when they discharged their pieces, and rushing into the Mexican camp, encountered them hand to hand, and drove them in dismay from the field. The whole plain was covered with the fugitives, who threw down their arms and cried for quarter. The cavalry pursued them, and cut them down by hundreds, until night closed the bloody scene. The Mexican loss in this battle was six hundred and thirty killed, two hundred and eighty wounded, and seven hundred and thirty prisoners. Colonel Almonte was taken on the same evening, General Santa Anna on the 22d, and General Cos on the 24th, but a small number escaping from the fatal rout of San Jacinto. The Texan loss was six killed and twenty-three wounded; while the enemy's dead and dying covered the plain in all directions.

CHAPTER III.

SANTA ANNA agrees to recognize the Independence of Texas — Retreat of Filisola — Santa Anna is sent to the United States — His return to Mexico — Second administration of Bustamente — The French Blockade Vera Cruz — Description of San Juan de Ulloa — Bombardment of the Castle — Santa Anna's Gallantry — Revolution of 1841 — General Canales.

BY the overthrow of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, the campaign was ended, and the Texans were too cautious to risk a battle with the main army of the Mexicans, with the small number of men then in the field. The captive president of Mexico offered his services to prevent the further effusion of blood, and in conjunction with Filisola, Urea, Gaona, and Sezma, signed a treaty on the 14th of May, 1836, by which he bound himself to "solemnly acknowledge, sanction, and ratify the full, entire and perfect independence of Texas." Solemnly pledging himself with his personal and official powers to procure, without delay, the final and complete ratification and confirmation of the treaty, by the proper and legitimate government of Mexico.

The boundaries of Texas were declared to be as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande; thence up the principal stream of said river to its source; thence due north, to the 42d degree of north latitude; thence along the boundary line, as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain, (February, 1819,) to the beginning."

The Texans, upon their part, agreed to spare the lives of Santa Anna and his fellow captives; to send the former to Vera Cruz as soon as practicable, and to furnish General

Filisola with supplies during his retreat to the frontiers.—The treaty was signed by the Mexican leaders, and the forces which had entered Texas with such hopes of glorious triumphs, began their march homewards, a demoralized mass of worn-out, weather-beaten, dispirited wretches.

In the early part of June, the president of Mexico embarked at Velasco, on board of a small vessel, which he fondly anticipated was to bear him from the land which had witnessed his humiliation. While lying at the mouth of the Brazos, waiting for a wind, General Green arrived at the river with a division of troops lately enlisted. In violation of the treaty, he was forced on shore, and *compelled* to exhibit himself as a spectacle to the soldiery who lined the banks of the stream. Against this outrage Santa Anna issued a protest, in language which proclaimed the injury his pride had received. By this conduct the Texans infringed the articles of compact, and it cannot be wondered at that the Mexican followed their example, especially when we remember that the fallen chief was in the power of those who thirsted for his blood; the firmness of President Burnet alone saving him from an ignominious, perhaps a cruel death.

In December, 1836, Santa Anna was sent to the United States, where he had an interview with the venerable chief magistrate of the republic, who subsequently treated him with great kindness and consideration, which was due to his misfortunes, rather than to his rank or achievements. It is but an act of justice to the reputation of Santa Anna to state, that while in Washington he endeavored to exculpate himself from any participation in the massacre at Goliad, by asserting that it was the law of Mexico to put to death all persons taken in arms against the government, and that General Urea obeyed the commands of that law, and not his general-in-chief, when he butchered Fannin and his men in so cold blooded and inhuman a manner. Had the Mexicans conquered at San Jacinto, not a Texan would have been permitted to live after he had surrendered a prisoner

of war; hundreds of the former escaped to bless the Virgin that the latter were not savages like themselves.

In the early part of 1837, Santa Anna returned to Mexico, in the U. S. brig Pioneer, and seeking the shelter of his hacienda of Manga de Clavo, he hid himself from the world, and nursed his chagrin in solitude. Don Miguel Barragan, the Vice-President, had administered the government during his absence, and endeavored to carry out the policy of his chief; but it required the strong arm of the latter to keep the people in subjection; the federalists continued to oppose the executive power, and disorder, anarchy, and confusion reigned from Santa Fe to Yucatan. Difficulties threatened the nation from abroad; France had demanded the payment of a long standing debt, and the exchequer was empty, the expenses of the army consuming the revenues of the state, which should have been appropriated to more legitimate purposes. When Bustamente, who had been driven into exile, heard of the reverses of his rival, he returned to Mexico, and denouncing him and his policy, aroused the discontented populace, and succeeded in placing himself once more at the head of affairs, as president of the republic. This personage repudiated the idea of keeping faith with the revolted province, which had caused the loss of so much treasure, and so many men to Mexico. He therefore, in accordance with his own views, and the public sentiment of the nation, resolved to overwhelm the people of that remote and obscure territory, by sending an army against them whose triumphs should wipe out the disgrace of the Mexican arms.

The worn and dejected appearance of Filisola's division, which had returned "bootless back, and weather-beaten home," frightened the soldiery of the republic, and they refused to receive a spark of the chivalrous patriotism which lighted up the soul of Bustamente; who, warned by the fate of his predecessor, remained at the capital, while he sent General Bravo to Saltillo, to take command of the

forces intended for the re-invasion of Texas. A few battalions of undisciplined, mutinous troops, without supplies or munitions, were collected at this point, where they remained, the government being unable to furnish them with the means of taking the field.

After vainly attempting to organize these expeditionary troops Bravo resigned in disgust, convinced of the inability of the supreme authority to fulfill its vindictive threats against the rebellious heretics, who relying upon their rifles and the justice of their cause had already conquered the *élite* of the Mexican veterans. The proposed campaign was therefore indefinitely postponed; Bustamente and his rivals using the Texas difficulties as a stalking-horse, whereon they paraded, whenever they wished to conceal their own misdeeds from the public eye, or to raise supplies for other purposes. The administration soon became exceedingly unpopular, monopolies and prohibitory imposts injured the manufacturing and commercial interests, and the oppressive exactions of the impoverished government bore heavily upon all classes. A financial crisis was at hand, which threatened to ruin the country; the famous mines of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Durango and the department of Mexico had been long declining, and now scarcely produced thirteen millions per annum.* Foreign nations were clamorous for the payment of indemnities long since due, and their demands served to increase the general discontent which hung like a cloud over the land.

The affairs of Mexico were in this miserable condition, when the French fleet under Admiral Baudin appeared before Vera Cruz, bearing a demand for immediate satisfaction for injuries received and claims unsettled. The Mexican of-

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* The proceeds of the principal mines* were as follows. Zacatecas $5,028,655. Guanajuato $3,476,820. Mexico $2,004,988. Durango $876,287. Guadalaxara $908,052. Chihuahua $568,056. Total amount $13,979,714. In 1803, these same mines yielded $23,000,000. One of gold, and twenty-two silver.

*The mines of Oaxaca belong to an English company, they yield six per cent.

ficials are admirable diplomatists, they can spin out a negotiation and involve an unsuspicious envoy in so many difficulties, that he needs the thread of Ariadne to make his escape from the mazes of the political labyrinth into which they have entangled him. The French had become wearied with the dilatory policy of the Republic, and impatiently demanded redress, regardless of the promises of their feeble yet wily debtors. Bustamente was unable in the then distracted state of the country, either to comply with the requisitions of France, or to place the defences of Vera Cruz in a condition to repel a hostile force.

In 1828, General Mexia pronounced in favor of the federal system, and took up arms in defence of his principles. Santa Anna, who was entrusted with the command of the government troops, marched against him, and gaining a signal victory dispersed the enemy and took Mexia prisoner, and put him to death on the spot. "Santa Anna is right," said the captive when he received his sentence, "I should have served him in the same manner, had I been the victor."

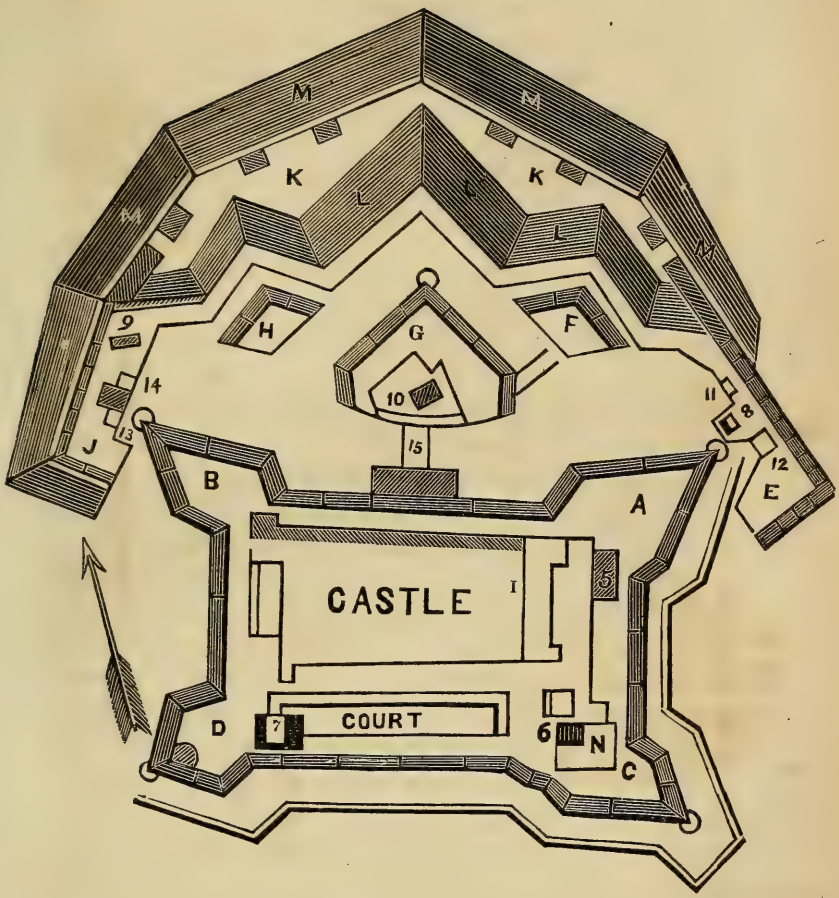
The French squadron, in the meantime, blockaded the port of Vera Cruz, and at once cut off the revenues drawn from that opulent city. The hostile fleet remained in the harbor and off the coast, during the winters of 1838–9, without attacking the town or castle, in the hope that the Mexicans would comply with their just demands. This moderation, however, only confirmed the obstinate determination of the administration not to yield to a foreign power. Troops were marched into the city, and preparations were made for defence, should the enemy attempt to carry the place. General Santa Anna was appointed to the important trust of commandant-general of the department, and relying upon the strength of their fortifications, the Mexicans challenged the French to do their worst.

The principal work of defence at Vera Cruz is the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, which, standing in front of the city, protects it from assault. The foundations of this celebrated



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ, BY THE FRENCH.

1, Castle of San Juan.
2, Gallega Reef.
3, 4, Shoals.
5, Bomb Vessels.
6, 7, 8, 9, French Fleet.
10, Corvette Creole.
11, Shoals.



DESCRIPTION OF SAN JUAN DE ULLOA.

A. Bastion de la Soledad.
B. " " " Santiago.
C. " " San Pedro.
D. " " San Crispan.

E, F, G, H, J, Water Batteries.
N. Cavalier—a high Tower.
I. Officers' Quarters.
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Powder Magazines.

11, 12, 13, 14, Landings
15, Entrance.
LL, MM, Glacis.
KK, Battery.



fortress are laid upon a coral reef below the surface of the sea, which in winter dashes in impotent fury against its firm walls. To sea-ward extends the Gallega reef and shoal, securing it from approach in that direction; more than two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance frown from its battlements and surrounding batteries. The parapets are of masonry, and the ditches are wide and covered with water.—The relief is about forty feet. It is eight hundred yards from the city, the harbor lying between the castle and the main land.

The French becoming weary of the blockade, resolved to make an attack upon the fortress, and by that means force the Mexicans into measures. In the early part of 1839, the hostile fleet, consisting of three frigates, the Iphégenié of 60 guns, the Névéide of 52 guns, and the La Gloire of 52 guns; one corvette, the Créole of 20 guns, commanded by the Prince de Joinville, and two bomb vessels, mounting four heavy mortars, prepared for the assault. The Mexicans allowed the enemy to tow their ships into position without firing a single shot at them, doubtless being under the delusion that their cannon would thunder in vain against the massive walls. They soon had reason, however, to change their opinion, when the fleet opened a fire from ninety-two guns upon their stronghold, which was shaken to its foundations by the storm of deadly missiles which fell upon its bastions and ancient towers.

Forced into activity, the garrison answered with a peal of ordnance, which warned the enemy that they had awakened from their apathy. The battle raged for several hours, the air was obscured with smoke and shot, and the shouts of the combatants, mingled with the sullen roar of the artillery, echoed along the shores, and resounded through the caverns of the snow-capped Orizava, which shone like the white robes of the angel of peace, far above the fierce conflict.

The frigates and bomb vessels remained stationary during the contest; the corvette continued under sail, passing

at one time to the left of the castle, near the bastion of Santiago. The assailants kept up an incessant discharge, their cannon vomiting forth twenty tons of metal an hour. The ammunition of the besieged had been imperfectly prepared, and although many of their shots were well delivered, they did not penetrate the sides of the ships when they struck them. Weak as their powder was, it was destined to spread more havoc among the defenders of San Juan than even the shells of their adversary. The action had lasted nearly six hours, the Mexicans answering the fire of the foe at intervals, working their guns with characteristic indolence, when suddenly an awful crash was heard which drowned the roar of the ordnance, and shook the earth to its centre: a magazine had exploded, and the tower of the Cavalier was blown up, scattering death and destruction in its fall. The shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying, as they rolled their mutilated bodies in the wet ditches, and among the smoking ruins, filled their comrades with horror. By this accident the garrison was soon placed *hors de combat*, and the firing ceased. The French threw, during the day, 302 bomb-shells, 177 paixhan shot, and 7771 solid shot. The Mexicans worked but nineteen guns, and threw not more than thirteen tons of shot.

The enemy attacked the city, and with such success that if they had been strong enough, they could have held the place. Several engagements took place between them and the forces under Santa Anna; in one of these that general, while driving the former to their boats, received a dangerous wound, which cost him his leg. The difficulties with France were shortly afterwards arranged, and the hostile fleet left the shores of Mexico. The gallant conduct of Santa Anna at Vera Cruz won him golden opinions from his countrymen, and placed him once more high in their confidence. Yielding up his command, he retired from the theatre of his glorious achievements, and concealed his mutilated body amid the shades of Manga de Clavo, where he

remained, watching the course of events, certain of being soon called to the power now wielded so unwisely by his rival.

In 1839 General Canales excited a revolt in the north-eastern departments against the central government, and with the aid of Texas endeavoured to establish an independent Federal Republic to be composed of the provinces of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Durango. The revolutionists declared their independence, and Canales was appointed General-in-chief of the army, and President of the confederacy. A secret treaty was signed by the Texan authorities and the rebel leader, who was encamped at Laredo, on the east side of the Rio Grande, by which the parties bound themselves as follows:

"The President of the Republic of the Rio Grande pledges himself to declare and establish the Federal constitution of 1824, as soon as he shall have established his head-quarters within the territory claimed by the said Republic.

That the Republic of the Rio Grande, shall immediately after said declaration of independence, recognize the independence of Texas.

The Republic of Texas pledges herself to aid the Federalists of the Rio Grande in their struggle for independence, as soon as her own independence is recognized by the Republic of the Rio Grande."

In compliance with this convention, a volunteer force was levied at Bexar, and marched to join the federal army. It was commanded by Colonel Jordan, an officer of courage and ability. In no instance, however, have the people of Mexico united harmoniously with the adventurous spirits of the north, whose daring enterprise has led them within their territory. The feeble, yet fierce and jealous descendant of the Aztec, feels rebuked, in the presence of the bold, energetic, and intelligent Anglo-American, and he hates those whose superiority he is compelled to acknowledge. The troops under Canales entered Mexico, and for a brief period

were allowed to advance unmolested into the interior; their reception, however, was neither enthusiastic nor brilliant; the inhabitants did not oppose them, nor did they welcome them as the champions of their much coveted liberty. The occupation of Coahuila, by a revolutionary force of Texans and Federalists, soon excited the attention of the central government, and in the spring of 1840, General Mariano Arista was sent against them with a strong division of regular troops. As the enemy advanced, the Texans discovered that they must depend upon their own valor to extricate themselves from the danger which menaced them, the jealousy of their Mexican allies, exhibited in a thousand ways, preventing that unity of sentiment and mutual confidence essential for the safety of both.

In the month of April, the hostile armies came in collision; the combined forces were defeated, and Canales was compelled to retreat. That general, who exceeded any of his countrymen in perfidy, basely deserted his party at this crisis, and left the Texans under Jordan to make their way through a hostile territory back to San Antonio de Bexar.—By the defection of Canales, the new born republic was stifled at its birth.

In the meantime the administration of Bustamente was producing its anticipated results; it was becoming more unpopular every day, and the hoarse clamor of an approaching revolution was again heard echoing among the mountains of Mexico. Pronunciamentos, insurrections, and popular tumults occurred in Yucatan, the departments upon the Pacific, at Santa Fe, and in the capital, indicating the prevailing discontent. Santa Anna carefully avoided showing himself openly in these movements, but remained in strict seclusion, biding the time, which he felt was not far off, when he should again have the satisfaction of driving his rival into reputeless banishment.

CHAPTER IV.

YUCATAN: its Climate, Soil, and Topography — Its Population — The Revolt of Santiago Iman — Attack upon Espeta — Battle of San Fernando — Proclamation of the Rebel Chief against the Clergy — Col. Roquena's Attack upon Tizimin — General Rivas — Strength of the Rebel Party — Advance upon the city of Valladolid de Yucatan — Iman proclaims the Constitution of 1824 — Siege of Campeachy — Tyranny of Bustamente — Revolution of 1841 — Fall of Bustamente.

THE Peninsula of Yucatan, situated at the southern extremity of Mexico, is one of the most important states of that confederacy. Its importance, however, is dependent upon its position, rather than upon its population, opulence, or the fertility of its soil. Presenting a flat, level, unbroken surface, its general aspect is barren, arid, and desolate, with here and there a cultivated district, where all the productions of the tropics flourish with singular luxuriancy. Without a single river, or a stream of any magnitude, to vary the monotonous appearance of the plains, the country abounds in subterranean wells and rivulets, called *sonatos*, which supply the inhabitants with water and nourish the parched fields during the dry season. The principal cities of Yucatan, are Merida, Valladolid, and Campeachy: the former is the capital, the latter is the great commercial entrepot of the province. The inhabitants of Yucatan are, most of them, of the Indian race, and are kept in a state of bondage by their masters, the descendants of their Spanish conquerors, who, in conjunction with the clergy, exercise unbounded sway over

these ignorant and subdued serfs. These Indians are of the Maya tribe, and differ in many respects from the Aztecs and Otomites of the interior of Mexico. They are not so intelligent or energetic, though far more virtuous and humane than their brethren of the north. There are fewer crimes committed in the peninsula than in any other part of the Republic; and it was not until within a few years since, that this obscure region experienced the evils of a political convulsion.

The interference of Bustamente in the commercial and manufacturing interests of Mexico, had excited a strong feeling of opposition against him in Yucatan, as well as in several other departments of the confederacy, and when the tocsin of revolt was sounded, it found an echo in the hearts of the people of this province. On the 29th of May, 1839, the tri-color was unfurled at the village of Tizimin, in the interior of the peninsula, by Santiago Iman, an officer in the militia of the state, who began the revolution by proclaiming the constitution of 1824. Six leagues distant from his position is the town of Espeta, containing about three thousand inhabitants, which was garrisoned by a party of government troops, under the command of an officer who had conspired with Iman to revolutionize the department. The latter sent a messenger to his accomplice to inform him of his approach. The commandant of Espeta had in the meantime changed his mind, and resolved to remain true to his allegiance. Marching at night against this point, in the expectation that it would be surrendered according to a previous understanding, the rebel leader was astounded when he heard the drums of the garrison beat to arms, and preparations made for a vigorous defence by his false confederate. Determined, if possible, to carry the town, Iman opened a fire upon it, and for several hours the hostile forces fought in the dark, with energy and resolution. Volley followed volley in rapid succession; but owing to the

obscurity of the night, and the cover under which both parties had placed themselves, neither of them sustained much injury. At daybreak, Iman drew off his men, and retreated to Tizimin where he remained for a short time, organizing and disciplining his raw soldiery. Hearing that the government was about to send a force against him, the rebel leader retired to the village of San Fernando, seven leagues distant; causing the trees bordering the road to be cut down, he obstructed it for several miles. He also fortified the approaches to his position, by building stone walls, behind which his men could fire upon an advancing enemy. Having made these prudent arrangements, he quietly awaited the coming of his adversaries, who had threatened him with annihilation, unless he submitted, and threw down his arms.

The procrastinating policy, which is so universal throughout Mexico, is also found in Yucatan; and it was not until the government had exhausted its exuberant vocabulary of official denunciation that a hostile gun was fired against Santiago Iman, and his rabble rout of forlorn and desperate followers. In the month of August, the commandant of Espeta marched against San Fernando at the head of a division of four hundred regular troops; moving with difficulty over the obstructions which the rebels had placed in his way, he finally arrived before the town. An action ensued, in which neither party displayed much chivalry, or a knowledge of the art of war. After exchanging several volleys with the enemy, Iman soon felt his position to be uncomfortable; and doubting his ability to hold it in the face of the rattling fire poured into his ranks every moment, he determined to retreat. This movement he effected in safety, and taking the route to his old quarters at Tizimin, he left San Fernando in possession of the regulars. The commandant of Espeta returned to his cantonments, boasting that he had certainly quelled the revolt, and dispersed the rebel force.

The leader of the revolutionary party, who was not destitute of ability, soon undeceived the enemy as to his fall by issuing a proclamation addressed to the people of Yucatan, guaranteeing to abolish the taxes levied upon themselves and their families by the Church. This politic measure increased the popularity of the insurgents, and brought a great number of recruits to the rebel camp; those who did not openly join the insurrection willingly furnished those engaged in it with supplies. By this means the affairs of the malcontents were placed in a flourishing condition; the clergy, aware of the danger their privileges were exposed to by the success of the people, united their powerful influence with that of the government, and endeavored to crush the daring revolutionist who had the audacity to attack the prerogative they had ever enjoyed, of fleecing the poor Indian of his last *medio*. The opposition of the priesthood checked the growth of the revolution for a time, and compelled many of its ardent supporters to retire from the contest, conscious of the inutility of struggling against a power upheld by the associations and prejudices of three cen turies.

On the 12th of December, Colonel Roquena attacked the insurgents with six hundred men at Tizimin. Forming his followers under cover of a stone wall at the entrance of the town, General Iman made a gallant defence, keeping up a steady fire from behind the barricade. Roquena, who was a brave, but not a skillful officer, suffered his men to stand in front of the wall until a score or two had been killed, without making an effort to dislodge the rebels. After fighting in this way for several hours, Roquena charged at the head of his division, and carried the place at point of the bayonet, a manœuvre he could have easily effected in the beginning of the fray. The government troops sustained, in this action, a loss of fifty killed, and a large number wounded.

The rebel loss was very slight. Colonel Roquena, believing that as he had driven Santiago Iman from his stronghold, that the hardy partisan would retire from the contest, returned to Campeachy with his division. The Commandant-General Rivas, expressing great contempt for the revolutionists, scarcely condescended to notice their existence, and willingly assented to the report of his officer that the enemy had been scattered to the winds by the prowess of the victorious troops of the line. Santiago, after his discomfiture, remained perfectly quiet, apparently satisfied of his inability to cope with the disciplined forces of the government; this personage was, however, preparing for a desperate enterprise, which would either bring the struggle to a glorious issue, or consign him and his compatriots to an ignominous fate.

In the cities of Valladolid de Yucatan, Merida, Sisal, and Campeachy, there were many persons of wealth, intelligence, and influence, who were decidedly hostile to Bustamente, in favor of the constitution of 1824, and the federal system. With these individuals Iman was not unacquainted; and conscious of their support, he resolved to beard the lion in his den. The city of Valladolid is one of the principal towns in the republic, and at this period was garrisoned by a battalion of regulars, under a brave and efficient commander, Lieutenant Colonel Arans, who was devoted to the cause of the government he served, which was more than could be said of many who held commissions under the seal of the executive of Mexico at that period, before, and since.

On the 11th day of February, 1840, Santiago Iman appeared before Valladolid, and, making an attack upon the *barrio* (or suburb) of Sisal; he gained possession of it, before the garrison could muster for its defence. Colonel Arans marched with all speed to the scene of action, at the head of three hundred men; and in the conflict which followed, this meritorious officer was killed, while leading

his troops to the charge. Disheartened by the .oss of their leader, the garrison were beaten by the rebels, and capitulated before sunset. Valladolid was thus taken by a handful of daring desperadoes, whose ranks were composed of Indians, half-breeds, and deserters from the regular army. Their chief was, however, a man equal to the task of turning their rude energies to the best account, and his career is not the only one wherein we can discern the influence of a predominating spirit over those who are exposed to its influence. That night, a convention was held at the town-hall, and the constitution of 1824 was proclaimed by the victorious federalists, and met with a hearty response from the citizens; the adjacent towns and villages soon followed the example of Valladolid. The partisans in Merida, elated by the success of their party, pronounced in favor of the constitution, and in despite of the opposition of the military and the clergy, carried their point. The city of Campeachy alone remained firm to its allegiance to the central government.

The revolution had progressed so far, when the friends of Bustamente endeavored to stay its march by offering a compromise, proposing that Rivas and other obnoxious functionaries should withdraw, and a more popular set of officers be appointed in their places. To this, however, neither Iman nor his friends would consent, announcing their unalterable determination to establish the constitution and the laws. Campeachy was defended by a thousand men, under the command of General Rivas, who was resolved to hold it for the government, as long as he had force enough to man its walls.

The Executive of Mexico, owing to the difficulties which prevailed throughout the republic, was unable to send a single regiment to his relief, and Rivas was thus left to his own resources; which he certainly made the best use of, considering his peculiar position,—shut up in a sea-port town, with a whole province in arms against him. The federal

army laid siege to Campeachy, and opened a battery upon its defences, the fire of which was answered by the besieged with spirit. For some days, the hostile guns thundered defiance; but the injury sustained by either party was not sufficient to make them yield to their rival. At length, the supplies and ammunition of the centralists began to fail, and much against his will, Rivas was compelled to surrender the town (in June 1840) into the hands of the triumphant federalists. By the capitulation of Campeachy, the power of Bustamente was annihilated in Yucatan, and the revolution brought to a successful termination.

The din of war had now ceased in the peninsula, but another struggle commenced, which, if bloodless, was not less fierce and determined. There were three political factions in the country, each of which was striving for the supremacy. One of these, which was called the *Rochelanos* party, was opposed to both the central and federal systems; another portion of the people were in favor of an immediate and total separation from the Mexican confederacy; the other faction referred to was the federalists, who were the most numerous, intelligent, and disinterested of those who took an active part in the affairs of the department. The clergy threw their powerful influence in opposition to the latter, and fought manfully against the innovations which threatened to deprive them of their time-honored and exclusive privileges. After much debate, a constitution was framed upon the basis of that of 1824, from which it differed in this, that all religions were to be *tolerated*, while that of the Roman Catholic was to be *protected*, as formerly. Females were also exempted from the payment of contributions to the clergy,—a decree causing no inconsiderable diminution of the revenue of these holy fathers, as there are more females in all tropical regions than males. On the 31st of March, 1841, the new constitution was promulgated, and acknow-

ledged as the fundamental law of the free and sovereign state of Yucatan.

The difficulties in the southern departments, hastened the ruin of Bustamente, whose administration was already tottering to its fall. Among those arrayed against the government, were generals Paredes, Canalizo, Tornel, (afterwards minister of war and marine,) Almonte, and Santa Anna. In order to maintain his position, the president was compelled to keep an army in the field, the expenses of which amounted during the year 1840, to more than eight millions of dollars. The national debt was increasing with a rapidity which threatened to swell it far beyond the ability of the nation to liquidate it, and notwithstanding the onerous duties—which in many instances exceeded the value of the articles imported—levied upon all merchandise brought into the country, the exchequer was as empty as the enemies of the party in power could desire. A large portion of the circulating medium in Mexico consists of copper coin, which within a few months had been depreciated sixty per cent. from its original value. As the great mass of the people were the holders of this derogate coin, its depreciation tended in no slight degree to increase the prevailing discontent. The affairs of the republic were in this critical condition, when Paredes *pronounced* against the supreme authority, in the month of August, 1841, in the department of Guadalaxara, which soon declared in favor of the revolutionary movement. The insurrection being sustained by some of the ablest men in the country, its progress soon became irresistible, and bore down all before it. The government, destitute of resources to meet the exigency, was forced to remain inactive, while the insurgents were concentrating their troops upon the capital. Nowise intimidated by the approach of his foes, Bustamente resolved to hold on to the power he had acquired to the last, and rejected the overtures of the former with haughty disdain. When it became known that Santa

Anna had espoused the cause of the malcontents, the recollection of his recent services at Vera Cruz, inspired the people with an enthusiastic regard for him which drew thousands to his party and rendered their success certain. Enraged at the refusal of Bustamente to yield to their demands, the revolutionary chiefs brought up their divisions, and opened their batteries upon the city of the Montezumas; whose walls again echoed with the fierce strife of contending factions. Driven to extremity, the executive still continued the struggle, opposing the entrance of his enemies into the capital with the few regiments which remained faithful to him. The number and perseverance of his adversaries, however, enabled them to overcome the obstacles he had vainly hoped would check their progress, the city was taken, and succumbing to his destiny, Bustamente retired from the contest, his own tyranny, and the restless ambition of his rivals had provoked. The government was immediately reorganized upon the Plan of Tacubaya, which abolished the former constitutions, and invested the chief magistrate with plenary powers to restore the tranquillity and prosperity of the commonwealth. General Santa Anna was soon after appointed to the supreme authority, and entered upon the duties of his office, amid the rejoicings of his numerous partisans, who hailed his installation as the harbinger of peace, order, and national greatness. And had it been in the power of any man within the confines of the republic to have achieved these desirable ends, the nation could not have made a better selection than this distinguished chief, whose abilities were unquestionably superior to those who surrounded him eager to share in the spoils of office.

The executive dignity at this period was no sinecure, the effects of the policy pursued by his predecessor gave ample scope for the exercise of the talents of the provisional president, who found himself in a position of great difficulty the moment he accepted the coveted honors of

his state. There was scarcely a dollar in the public treasury to meet the daily expenses of the government, much less to pay the interest accruing upon the national debt, or to maintain the army upon whose bayonets he depended for the continuance of his power. Dissensions also prevailed in different parts of the country; Yucatan had withdrawn from the confederacy, and aided and encouraged by the Texans refused to return to her allegiance unless the Mexican government would comply with her demands. Santa Anna met these financial and political embarrassments with energy and sagacity, and succeeded in stemming the tide which had threatened to overwhelm his administration in the beginning. By the exercise of a power as potent as that of Prospero, he stilled the political tempest, replenished the empty coffers of the state, maintained a powerful army, quelled the seditious attempts of his enemies, and warded off the angry demands of foreign envoys, with an address peculiarly his own. The wealthy and intelligent classes were willing to contribute a portion of their immense revenues to sustain their favorite at the outset of his career, forgetful of the fact that governments supported by contributions or direct taxation grow exacting as they become consolidated, until their insatiate demands eat up the substance of the people, and the dynasty itself expires, like a devouring fire that has destroyed all things within its reach. The system of forced loans adopted by Santa Anna relieved his necessities for a time, but ultimately caused a revolution, which hurled him from his position, and placed the country in the hands of those whose incompetency, ve nality, or ambition, has brought upon the Mexican nation the combined calamities of intestine and foreign war, domestic treason, and external spoliation, poverty, anarchy, and ruin; which has caused the blood of her bravest sons to flow like water, which has dismembered her territory, and prostrated her arrogant crest in the dust.

CHAPTER V.

Invasion of New Mexico — Capture, and fate of the Invaders — Cruelty of Salazar — Dissolution of Congress by Santa Anna — Convocation of a Junta — Condition of Yucatan — Commodore Moore — Expedition against Yucatan under General Morales — The Vomito — Its Effects — Return of the Mexican Army — Foray into Texas — Capture of Bexar — General Canales — Gen. Woll's Expedition — The Texans cross the Rio Grande — Battle of Mier — Capture of the Texans — The new Constitution — Order for the expulsion of Americans from the north-western Departments — Conduct of the American Envoy — Remonstrances of Mexico against the Annexation of Texas — Armistice between Mexico and Texas — Sam Houston — The British *Charge d' Affairs* — Negotiations for Peace — Santa Anna and *los Texanos* — General Almonte's Protest — Opening of the Chamber of Deputies — Installation of Santa Anna.

A short time after the accession of Santa Anna in 1841, a party of Texans who had invaded the territory of Santa Fe, in New Mexico, were taken prisoners, and sent under an escort to the capital. The unfortunate individuals composing the expedition, suffered horribly during their passage through the untrodden wilderness which they traversed. Upon their arrival upon the Rio Galinas, in the vicinity of Santa Fe, they were inveigled into a capitulation to Don Manuel Armijo, the governor of the province, who wantonly violated the terms he had promised to keep with them. The prisoners who surrendered in September, 1841, were taken to the town of San Miguel, stripped of their valuables, and thrown into prison; after several of their number had been slaugh-

tered in cold blood, the rest were marched toward the city of Mexico. In their passage through the territory under the jurisdiction of Armijo, a portion of the captives were consigned to the care of Captain Salazar, whose cruelty toward them almost exceeds belief: he put several of them to death for no other reason than that they were unable to keep up with their comrades; he then cut off their *ears*, and stringing the bloody trophies upon a piece of buckskin, he carried them to the frontiers of the adjoining department of Chihuahua, and presented them as a token that the men had not escaped.* The governor of the latter state, Don Garcia Conde, treated the prisoners with humanity, and provided liberally for their comfort. Most of the party being forced to travel on foot, they endured many privations, and much suffering, in the long journey of more than two thousand miles from Santa Fe to the capital. On the route the Texans were attacked with the small-pox, of which loathsome malady a number of them perished. Arriving at the city of Mexico, the members of the expedition were confined in the convent of Santiago, and loaded with chains, were forced to work on the public highways. In this way did the Mexicans treat their prisoners of war, who had not committed an act of depredation upon their territory, nor even fired a gun in self defence, but had surrendered at the first summons. Compelled to work like galley slaves, incarcerated in the gloomy dungeons of Perote† and Santiago, covered with vermin and *miseria*, the remains of the party lingered out a wretched existence until the month of June, 1842, when they were liberated by Santa Anna.

The administration of the president, *ad interim*, had so far given satisfaction to the people, and his popularity

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* See Kendall's Santa Fe Expedition.

† Those confined in the castle of Perote suffered more than those who remained at the capital.

was not a little increased by the capture of the Texans. In June, 1842, a congress assembled at the government palace, for the purpose of reorganizing the constitution and the laws, in accordance with the plan of Tacubaya. As usual, dissensions soon broke out in the deliberative body; the friends of Santa Anna asked too much for him, while his political enemies wished to curtail the prerogatives he already possessed. The majority of the deputies were opposed to placing unlimited power in the hands of the executive, knowing from experience, that however wisely it might be used at first, in the end it would be abused, to the injury of the nation. The occurrences of the following year proved this fear to be founded upon truth.

The history of all ages teaches us, that political power is misapplied the moment it becomes concentrated, and that the patriot degenerates into the tyrant, when he is governed by no law save his own will. Happy are the people who are governed the least! Perceiving the impossibility of obtaining the consent of the legislative body to his plans of selfish aggrandizement, Santa Anna posted a corps of soldiers, under the command of a trusty officer, at the doors of the palace, with orders to oppose the entrance of the deputies. In this summary manner, the deliberations of Congress were closed, and the representatives forbidden to exercise their lawful functions. Resistance would have been utterly useless, for the ten thousand bayonets of the despot gleamed upon all sides, ready to charge at his behest.

A junta was subsequently convoked by the head of the government, who took care that none but those who favored his own schemes should have a potential voice therein;—an admirable method of ensuring the harmony of its meetings, if not the wisdom of its decrees. The department of Yucatan still continued in a state of revolt, and steadily refused to re-enter the Mexican Union, unless

the rights she claimed should be guaranteed to her under the seal of the republic. The pride of neither party would admit the adoption of a compromise, and war was openly declared between them. The Texans had entered into a convention with the authorities of the peninsula, and Commodore Moore, with the fleet of the former, swept the Gulf from Cape Catoche to the mouth of the Mississippi, in search of the Mexican flag. In his encounters with their vessels, he was invariably the victor.

In the summer of 1842, an army was collected at Vera Cruz, for the invasion of Yucatan; Santa Anna being determined to chastise the rebels into obedience. The expeditionary troops consisted of four thousand men, and were placed under the command of General Juan Morales, an able and efficient officer. The rainy season had already begun, before the divisions were mustered at the rendezvous, and several cases of the *vomito* warned them that the dreaded scourge of the south was at hand. As the climate of the peninsula was considered far more salubrious than that of Vera Cruz, Morales did not hesitate to embark for his destination—a movement as fatal as it was ill-advised. Had he delayed his enterprise until winter, the issue of it would have been less melancholy.

The invading army landed upon the coast of Yucatan in the month of August, when, owing to some peculiar cause, the fever broke out in the camp, and raged with unusual violence. Whole companies perished before its pestilential breath in a day. Morales endeavored to conceal the excessive mortality from his army; but it was impossible, at last, even to bury the dead with the accustomed rites of the church, and hundreds were thrown into shallow trenches, scarcely deep enough to hide their putrid remains. Literally blasted with sickness and devoured by death, regiment after regiment melted away, until but a few miserable battalions remained of this once formidable force; which had anticipated a contest far different from

that which they had fought with the king of terrors, who had met them in his most ghastly form.

Morales was glad to be allowed to return to Vera Cruz, after the lapse of a few weeks, with the remnant of his troops, a mere fraction of whom had lived to relate the horrors of this disastrous expedition. The expenses of this enterprise were too great to admit of a repetition of a similar attempt, and Yucatan was left to pursue her own course unmolested; she subsequently dictated her own terms, and re-entered the confederacy, and at present acknowledges a *nominal* allegiance to the Mexican republic. Six years had now elapsed since the battle of San Jacinto, and during that period not a hostile Mexican had been seen within the confines of Texas, nor a hostile gun had awakened the echoes of her forests.

In the meantime, the new republic had been advancing rapidly towards a condition of prosperity, which she could alone have achieved under the fostering care of a free and enlightened government. In the spring of 1842, General Bascus, who commanded the Mexican forces at the Presidio Rio Grande, made a sudden attack upon Texas, and surprising the town of San Antonio de Bexar, pillaged its inhabitants, and retreated with his booty, with a celerity which defied pursuit. This predatory expedition was followed in July by another, under General Canales, consisting of a strong body of cavalry and infantry. Canales was met on the Nueces by a small party of Texans, who after a short engagement forced him to retreat with considerable loss. In September, 1842, General Adrian Woll crossed the Rio Grande at the head of more than a thousand men, and Bexar again fell into the hands of the spoiler. The unprotected condition of the western frontier invited these forays; which were among the least of the injuries sustained by the Texans, from the hands of their president Sam. Houston, whose policy in peace and war, though not destitute of a certain kind of prudence, stamps

nim as one unfitted to govern a commonwealth of the smallest dimensions. A patriot and a brave soldier, Houston has ever been swayed by the appearance, rather than the actual condition of things; his political career has therefore been marked with great inconsistencies; Texas can never forget him, should she exist a thousand years. The town of Bexar, at the time of Woll's invasion, was filled with the inhabitants of the adjacent country, who had been drawn thither to attend the District Court then in session. The Mexican leader encamped at Bexar, for nearly a week, refreshing his men and collecting the spoil. During this period, a party of Texans under Colonel Caldwell marched to the relief of the town: the number of the enemy was, however, too great to admit of a contest with the hope of success. A company of Texans, commanded by Captain Dawson, attempted to force their way into Caldwell's camp, but were surrounded by the enemy, and a combat *à la outrance* ensued. The former fought with their usual courage; but, overwhelmed by numbers, they were cut down by scores, until but a few remained alive, twelve of whom were badly wounded. The Mexican loss was very severe, and hastened the return of Woll, who retreated into Mexico, carrying with him fifty-two prisoners and much booty. The Texan Executive determined to retaliate, and a force of eight hundred cavalry was dispatched to the Rio Grande, under General Somerville, who returned without having effected a single object of the expedition, on the 19th of December. Three hundred of the party refused to retrace their steps without having performed some deed worthy of their reputation as "cavaliers and strong men."

Actuated by a spirit of adventure, these men had no other object in view than to gratify a vague feeling of reckless courage, which courted dangerous enterprises for their own sake, rather than for the hope of gain or even the glory of having achieved them. This feeling is pecu-

liar to the people of the west and south-west, who in this respect differ from all others, and can scarcely be understood by those who have not felt its promptings; it is different from that which carried Cortes to Anahuac, and Pizarro to the land of the Incas; it is less selfish, more chivalric, and elevated.

Electing Colonel W. S. Fisher as their leader, the adventurers descended the river to the Alcantro, a small stream which empties into it; the town of Mier is situated about a league above its confluence with the Rio Grande. Fisher entered this place, and demanded a supply of provisions and horses, which being readily promised by the alcalde, he withdrew from the town, and encamped in the vicinity. In the meantime, General Ampudia marched to the relief of Mier. The Texans, who were in a suffering condition, madly resolved to force their way into the place which they had evacuated. On the evening of the 25th of December, 1842, Fisher led his men to the assault, and penetrating into the heart of the town, in the face of a heavy fire of artillery and musketry from Ampudia's division, they effected a lodgment near the public square.

At daybreak on the following morning, the combat was renewed by the enemy opening a fire from two six-pounders upon the position occupied by the daring adventurers, who answered it with a rapid and fatal discharge from their rifles. For several hours the battle raged furiously, the Texans defended by the stone walls of the houses, delivered their fire with unerring certainty, and at every volley sent a hundred of the foe to eternity. Several desperate sallies were made, and blood flowed through the streets and from every house upon which the Mexicans had posted themselves. The force under Ampudia was three thousand and more in number, the adventurers were but two hundred and sixty-five rank and file; a portion of their men having been left at the camp with their horses and baggage. Notwithstanding this great disparity in strength, the issue of the contest

would have been doubtful, had not the ammunition of the Texans become exhausted. As it was, they acceded unwillingly to the terms offered by Ampudia, who violated them as a matter of course as soon as he had secured his prisoners; who were soon after marched off under an escort to the capital; to suffer the same indignities, privations, and sufferings, imposed upon all who have trusted to the *fides Mexicana*, which is more false than that of the Carthagenians of old. On their route to Mexico the party rose upon their guard, and succeeded in making their escape, but being recaptured, seventeen of their number were put to death in a cruel and most barbarous manner.

On the 16th of June, 1843, the Junta convoked by Santa Anna brought their deliberations to a close, and proclaimed the result of their labors to the nation. The basis of the political organization of the republic was declared to be in substance as follows:

That the liberty of the press and of the people shall be inviolate. No taxes could be imposed except by the legislative authority, which was invested in a house of deputies and a senate. The confederacy was to be divided into sections, each to contain five hundred inhabitants, who were to nominate one elector. The latter were to select from their number one from every twenty, who in their turn appointed the members of the national Congress, and the state assembly; which was to be composed of not more than eleven and not less than seven persons, whose duties were similar to those of a departmental legislature. The governors of the states were to be appointed by the President. The executive power was to be invested in a native born Mexican who was not an ecclesiastic; whose term of office was to continue five years, and who was to be elected by the state assemblies, or by the houses of Congress in certain contingencies. The President was allowed to exercise a veto upon the acts of the legislative body, which was, however, limited within due bounds. He

possessed the power of levying fines of five hundred dollars upon those who disobeyed his lawful commands; and could convoke extra sessions of Congress, and dictate the subjects of their deliberations. He was not permitted to assume any military command without the consent of the legislature, nor could he leave the country during his administration, nor within one year thereafter without their express permission. During his absence from the capital, the speaker of the senate was to perform his duties; if his absence continued longer than two weeks, a president *ad interim* was to be appointed by the senators. He could be impeached for treason against the state or the constitution, but was exempted from all other criminal prosecutions during his term of office and for one year afterwards. The Senate was composed of sixty-three members, each possessed of an annual income of two thousand dollars, two-thirds of whom were to be elected by the departments, the other third by the deputies, the president, and the supreme court. The higher orders of the clergy were disqualified from being deputies, but could be appointed to the senate, one third of which was to be renewed every three years. All laws were to originate in the lower house; and all treaties required the sanction of both branches of the legislature to become valid. Congress was forbidden to alter the revenue laws intended for protection, nor could they annul the obligations of contracts thereafter to be entered into. The other powers belonging to this body were similar to those set forth in the constitution of 1824. The council of government was to be composed of seventeen persons appointed by the president, who were to be selected from those who had served the republic at least ten years without intermission in some official capacity.

The judges held their offices for life, and were responsible for their decisions. A military tribunal was established, to take cognizance of the affairs of the army; this court was to be permanent, and was composed of generals

and advocates appointed by the head of the government. All persons indicted for crime, or who served others in a menial capacity, as well as confirmed inebriates, gamblers, and vagrants, were excluded from the elective franchise. *After the year* 1850, *it was declared, that no one who could not read and write should be allowed the privilege of voting.* Mexicans of eighteen years of age, if married, were admitted to all the rights of citizenship; if single, not until they were twenty-one.

Such were the principal features of the new constitution. In other parts, it resembled that of 1824, except that it was more central in its provisions than that instrument; the power of the several states being merely nominal under this organization, while the supreme authority was consolidated in the general government, whose decrees were all-powerful.

On the 14th of July, 1843, General Tornel, the minister of war and marine, issued an order to the governors of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and the Californias, to the following effect:

"The President, *ad interim*, by virtue of the powers conferred upon him by the law of 22d of February, 1832, convinced of the impropriety of allowing the (*naturales*) natives of the United States to reside in the department under your command, has resolved that they shall be ordered out of it, within such time as it may appear most prudent to you; and that in future, no individual belonging to the United States be permitted to enter the said department; it being understood that this order is to apply even to the frontier of the department. To which end, I have the honor to make known to you this supreme resolution, recommending you to carry it into complete effect."

This tyrannical edict, the result of local prejudice and unmanly jealousy, was studiously concealed from the knowledge of the American minister, who was not informed of its existence until the following winter. It was a stroke of policy purely Mexican, and illustrates the duplicity of the national character, which leads them to

pursue their aim through dark and tortuous ways. Nothing is done in an open, straight-forward manner in that country; the Mexican seeks to hide his simplest actions under a veil of mystery. When General Thompson* was made acquainted with this decree—which was in violation of the express stipulations of the treaties existing between the two republics—he immediately demanded an explanation of the Mexican government. With their usual procrastinating policy, the Mexican officials returned no reply to the communication of the American envoy; who, however, addressed another note to the authorities, demanding instant satisfaction, or the deliverance of his passports. Bocanegra, the minister of foreign relations, did not deign to answer it; and the envoy prepared to depart from the country, without a moment's unnecessary delay. In order to prevent his departure, the former laid an embargo upon the Vera Cruz diligencia, in which the latter had engaged his passage. Late that night, the envoy received an apology from Bocanegra, who added, that the order referred to *all* strangers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government, and not alone to natives of the United States. This prevaricating statement was received in good part by the American envoy, who did not wish to increase the irritation already existing between his own country and Mexico. The unjust decree was also immediately revoked.

During the summer of this year, through the mediation of the British *charge d'affaires* at Mexico, a cessation of hostilities obtained between Texas and her former government. On the 15th of June, 1843, Houston issued a proclamation announcing that an armistice had been agreed upon by the two nations, which was to continue during the negotiation then pending for peace, and commanding all officers in the service of Texas to observe the same. On the 7th of July, Tornel, the minister of war,

* General Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina.

ordered General Woll to withdraw his parties of observation and discovery, and to abstain from any hostile demonstration upon the Texan frontier while the armistice lasted. He also instructed the commander-in-chief of the northern army, to give official notice to the president of Texas to appoint commissioners, who in conjunction with those chosen by the former, were to establish the armistice according to the usage and practice of war. The latter was invited to send duly accredited agents to the capital, with full powers to negotiate a permanent treaty, upon the basis of certain propositions which had been submitted to the Executive of Mexico, guaranteeing to them a safe-conduct, while coming, staying, and returning on their mission. Woll was, however, at the same time ordered to continue his warlike preparations for a descent upon Texas, in case the treaty should not be consummated between the countries. There was, at this crisis, a strong party in Texas who were opposed to the annexation of that State to the American confederacy, (a measure then agitated by the people of both republics,) who were suspected of favoring the views of England.

Against this union Mexico strongly protested both to the American envoy, and through her own minister residing at the capital of the United States.* Declaring that the Mexican government would consider an act for the incorporation of her former province into the territory of the latter, as equivalent to a proclamation of war against her, and that she was ready to resist the aggression by force of arms, leaving the civilized world to judge of the justice of her cause. In her eagerness to prevent the detested alliance, Mexico, for the first time, consented to accept the offer of mediation, made by the British envoy, and condescended to treat with her revolted department. The opportunity was embraced without hesitation

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* See Appendix, II, III, IV, V, VI.

by Houston, who had become the willing instrument of the Charge, and was ready to obey his dictation in this as well as other matters affecting the vital interests of his country. The solicitude evinced by England for the settlement of the difficulties between the belligerent states, was attributed to the desire which has lately been exhibited by the government of that country for the abolition of negro slavery, of which cause, to her honor be it said, she is the able champion. The best answer to this charge will be found in the declaration of her Secretary of State, at the close of this work.*

The principal object which Mexico had in view in consenting to treat with Texas, was to prevent the latter from being absorbed into the northern confederacy, to succeed in this she was willing even to sacrifice her overweening feelings of pride; sustained and encouraged by the diplomatic agents of England and France, who did not conceal their animosity to the annexation movement, the respective commissioners earnestly endeavored to effect a reconciliation. But there were too many antagonizing principles in action, too many prejudices to be conquered by either party, to admit of a hasty pacification, however devoutly desired. The negotiation progressed slowly, and finally terminated without having settled a single point in dispute between the hostile nations. It has been said, by high authority, that this complaisance towards Texas, was only a device of Santa Anna to relieve him from the difficulty in which he had involved himself by his threats and promises of reconquering the territory beyond the Rio Grande;† that personage hav-

* See Appendix, XI.

In the House of Lords, on the 18th of August, 1843, in reply to an interrogatory from Lord Brougham, concerning the abolition of slavery in Texas, the Earl of Aberdeen said, that the government would not fail to urge the matter by negotiation, and by all other means in its power.

† Dispatches from the American Legation at Mexico, 2d February, 1844, General Thompson to Mr. Upshur.

ing been forced, against his better judgment, to countenance the preparations which more than once had been commenced for that chimerical enterprise; the Mexican chief having no desire to see the grim visages of *los Texanos*, unless they were loaded with gyve and chain, and broken in spirit, compelled to toil upon the roads of the great republic, of which he was now, thanks to their mercy, the supreme head! Certainly he should keep an ever-burning light before the shrine of his patron saint, the good San Antonio, who has granted him so many favors, not the least of which has been that of seeing his enemies reduced to so miserable a condition that to slay them would have been an act of clemency; death being preferable to slavery.

On the 3d of November, 1843, General Juan Almonte, the minister representing the southern confederacy, addressed a communication to the government of the United States, demanding upon the part of his republic, an explanation in regard to the proposed annexation of Texas to the former, against which he entered his solemn protest, reiterating the declaration of Don Jose Maria de Bocanegra, that his nation would deem it an infraction of existing treaties, and equivalent to the announcement of hostilities.* These remonstrances passed unheeded.

On the 1st of January, 1844, the Congress elected under the new constitution assembled at the national palace, amid the rejoicings of the people, who hailed the event with all the usual demonstrations of popular satisfaction. The chambers were opened by General Canalizo, who portrayed the prosperous condition of the country in glowing colors, asserting that the mining, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the republic were in the most flourishing state; that the people were in the full enjoyment of civil liberty, contented and happy, and that the

* See Appendix, VII, VIII, IX.

surest way of keeping them so was to protect their rights and foster their industry, by maintaining the tariff then in successful operation, so that foreign nations could not compete with them.

In his reply to this harangue, the president of the Senate had the boldness to deny the assertions and postulates of Canalizo; exhibiting the affairs of the nation in their true light, he proceeded to prove that while the national debt had increased to ninety millions, the revenues had been diminishing, and were inadequate to meet the expenditures of the government. Commerce, he continued, had been paralyzed by prohibitory tariffs, and the mines had passed into the hands of foreign capitalists; agriculture languished, while manufactures had grown into monopolies, which, becoming ravenous with that which they fed upon, still demanded protection. These bold strictures upon the policy of the administration, though received in silence, were not lost upon the assembly; and when the Señor Ximienes resumed his seat, and the house adjourned, the members departed thoughtfully. Santa Anna had already fallen considerably in their estimation.

The 2d of January was ushered in amid the thunder of cannon, the enlivening strains of martial music, and the shouts of the populace, who were eager to witness the installation of the president elect; five thousand of the best equipped and disciplined troops in Mexico were drawn up in the great square, where Santa Anna was inaugurated (by proxy*) as chief magistrate of the republic. A dignity he was not destined to hold very long before it was stripped from him by the rude hand of successful rebellion, which in its turn was hurled from its seat by ruffian violence, which fell exhausted in the effort to quell the storm which had borne it into power!

* General Canalizo acting as his representative.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

Financial difficulties of Mexico — The amount of the National Debt — Revenues of the Republic — Expenses of the Government — The cost of the Army — Mexican Navy — Santa Anna's personal Popularity — His Leg — Commencement of Difficulties with the United States — History of the Annexation Movement — Mediation of European Powers — Mexican aggressions upon the Commerce and Citizens of the United States — Treaty of 1831 — Its Violation — Forbearance of the American Government — Convention for the adjustment of Claims, 1839 — Indemnity Allowed — Renewal of the Annexation Question — Mr. Calhoun — Sam Houston.

The condition of Mexico at this period was one of peculiar difficulty, and was calculated to awaken not only the sympathies of her own sons, but of all those who entertained friendly feelings toward her. The reckless administration of Bustamente and his party had almost despoiled her of the means of national existence; and although Santa Anna had, by a vigorous effort, repaired some of the breaches misrule had made in the public credit, it still trembled beneath the accumulated load of foreign and domestic debt the former had heaped upon her. It was ascertained upon examination at the beginning of 1844, that the financial responsibilities of the

central government amounted to nearly one hundred millions of dollars, not more than one-fourth of which was owing to persons residing in the country; sixty millions were due to English creditors, who were to be paid an annual interest, drawn from the diminished revenues, leaving to the state scarcely enough to maintain itself.

These revenues were derived from the duties upon internal and external commerce, direct taxation, mines, and forced contributions; from duties upon stamped paper, playing cards, pulque, and various other articles. The tobacco monopoly yielded five hundred thousand dollars annually; lotteries and cockpits were also taxed, and the incomes and property of the opulent, as well as the scanty proceeds which blessed the toil of the poor Indian, who, seated in the great square, patiently awaited the moment when he could dispose of his store, brought many a weary league from his mountain home. The aggregate revenue may be safely estimated, at this period, at about twenty millions; at present, it is much less. The expenses of the government exceeded this sum; the hospitals, fortresses, and army, costing no inconsiderable portion of it, the latter, in time of peace, absorbing from seven to ten millions of the public funds. The Mexican navy, consisting of two expensive steamers and nine brigs and schooners, also helped to increase the difficulties arising from the want of money; and served no other purpose than to display the folly of maintaining a small fleet to guard a coast stretching five thousand miles upon the Pacific Ocean, and two thousand five hundred upon the Gulf. Tempestuous seas, shallow water, the vomito, and violent winds, formed a better protection against the approach of a hostile squadron.

Undismayed by the sad state of affairs existing in the republic, Santa Anna gallantly resolved to bear up under the evils which beset his administration; and, relying upon his destiny, endeavor to submit to that which he could not

overcome. He therefore applied all his energies to the fulfillment of the onerous duties of his station, and ruling the nation with an absolute will; he certainly maintained his position in the midsts of difficulties which would have overwhelmed a feebler intellect. The truth is, that this singular personage, though his foible is to parade at the head of his army, is a much abler statesman than he is a warrior—a greater diplomatist than a general; but, like all men of unquestionable talents, he would shine in any capacity in which fate had placed him. To do justice to his character, we must regard him as something better than the mere brigand he has so often appeared. The personal popularity of Santa Anna was doubtless of great service to him while at the head of affairs, and enabled him to resist the efforts of his enemies, who opposed his iron rule. So great was this devotion to his person, that the leg he had lost at Vera Cruz had been buried with pompous ceremonies in the cemetery of Santa Paula, in the environs of the capital, where a magnificent monument, surmounted by the national insignia announced to the world, the solemn fact, that the sinister extremity of General Santa Anna reposed below. A rare example of the gratitude of republics!

The great question which demanded the attention of the government at the beginning of 1844, was that arising from the policy pursued by the United States toward the country north of the Rio Grande. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Mexican ministers against the annexation movement, the former continued to agitate the subject, regardless of the threats or protests of the latter; and it required no great prescience to perceive the issue of the negotiations then pending between Texas and the authorities at Washington. The failure of the commissioners to adjust the difficulties existing since 1835, had, of course, rendered the prospect of a reconciliation still more doubtful; and Mexico and her former province

resumed the hostile attitude they occupied previous to the armistice, and the war would have been renewed if the Mexican exchequer had not been exhausted at this crisis. As it was, Santa Anna declared his determination of placing himself at the head of his columns, and of marching into Texas, where he anticipated an easy victory over the enemies of the republic. When he uttered these sentiments, the president well knew that he could not support an invading army six weeks, even if he could muster such a force, which was extremely doubtful; his veterans still remembered San Jacinto, and the long march from the Brazos to Matamoras. His declarations on this subject were a mere *ruse de guerre*, to blind the nation as to his real intentions, and to cause them to submit quietly to the imposts he was about to levy, under the pretext of re-subjugating Texas,—a consummation ardently desired by every Mexican in the land, but which no man was so well convinced of its utter impossiblity as Santa Anna himself.

On the 4th day of August, 1837, soon after she had achieved her independence, Texas had submitted a proposition to the government of the United States, for the annexation of her territory to the northern confederacy—urging the measure as one calculated to promote the interests of both parties, in an immeasurable degree. President Van Buren, however, declined to accept of these terms, for several cogent reasons; asserting, that so long as Texas was at war with Mexico, and the United States remained at peace with her, the proposition of annexation necessarily involved the question of war with that power; a contingency to be deprecated, as the States were bound to the former by a treaty of amity and commerce, which should be scrupulously maintained on their part, so long as its stipulations were adhered to by the Mexican authorities.* Moreover, it was said, that the United States

* State Papers.—Hon. John Forsyth's Correspondence with General Memucan Hunt, the Texan envoy.

might justly be suspected of a disregard of the friendly purposes of the compact, if the overtures of Texas were even to be reserved for future consideration, as this would imply a disposition to espouse the quarrel with Mexico,—a disposition at variance with the spirit of the treaty, and the uniform policy and obvious welfare of the United States.* The President even doubted the constitutionality of annexing a foreign independent state to the confederacy; under all circumstances, he deemed it inexpedient at that period to agitate the measure.

The refusal of Mr. Van Buren to accept the proffer of the Texan envoy, compelled his government to look elsewhere for that aid and protection her condition demanded, and to form such an alliance which would best conduce to the increase of her wealth, population, and national greatness. On the 14th of November, 1840, a convention was concluded between England and Texas, in which the former agreed to offer her mediation for the adjustment of the difficulties existing with Mexico. The British envoy, in pursuance of this agreement, tendered the mediation of his government, which was unhesitatingly declined by Santa Anna, who would not have dared to entertain a proposition of peace with Texas, upon any terms save those based upon the relinquishment of her rights as a sovereign independent state, and her return into the bosom of the Mexican republic. Had he consented to the solicitations of England, and acknowledged the independence of Texas, he would have been degraded from his high estate, and his name would have been execrated through all time by his fierce, jealous, and vindictive countrymen; who, blinded by pride and ignorance, imagined themselves a very powerful nation!

In 1842, Texas applied to the governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States, requesting their

* State Papers.

joint interposition for the settlement of the questions at issue between herself and Mexico. The two latter readily acceded to this mode of associating their influence, but the former power declined to unite with them, qualifying her refusal, however, by suggesting that each of the three might act separately in behalf of Texas. Santa Anna refused to listen to the remonstrances of the representatives of the enlightened governments above mentioned,* and it was not until 1843, that the President of Mexico consented to a suspension of hostilities; which terminated as related in the preceding chapter. The perverse obstinacy of Mexico in rejecting the solicitations of other nations, who had recognized the independence of the territory north of the Rio Grande, was not to be extenuated, inasmuch as she herself was indebted to those very states for the position she occupied as a sovereign power. The citizens of the American republic had not only furnished her, during her struggle with Spain, with men, money, and munitions of war, but had been the first to welcome her into the family of nations; whose alliance she has disgraced, by her wanton and licentious career, prostituting the gifts, nature and circumstance have lavished upon her, in the prosecution of a policy at once unjust, selfish, and ignoble. No sooner had she thrown off the fetters which had bound her to Spain, than she turned like a fugitive convict upon the people who had succored her, and commenced the system of spoliation and insult which she has since maintained until a very recent period; violating treaties, trampling upon the rights of American citizens, and setting at nought every principle of international law.

Merchants in the pursuit of lawful commerce, who sought the shores of Mexico, were robbed of their property, their vessels were seized, their cargoes confiscated, and if

* Correspondence between the Texan envoys and J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, May 15, 1844.

resistance was made against these outrages, the crews and owners were cast into prison among the vilest felons, where, devoured by vermin and filth, they remained until released by some fortunate accident. Scores of examples might be cited in proof of the above statement. On the 5th of April, 1831, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the northern and southern confederacies, the first article of which declares: "That there shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their people and citizens, respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

For a brief period the authorities of Mexico fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty, but the loose morality engendered by the civil wars which soon after distracted the country, re-awakened the spirit of oppression, and the old system of insult and injury was renewed with a reckless disregard of every principle of justice. The remonstrances and protests made by the American envoys against these outrages, were either replied to by promises of redress which were never observed, or passed over in silent contempt. If the government of Mexico needed vessels for the transportation of troops to some revolted province on the coast, its officers seized with impunity those lying in the harbors, and appropriated them without the least compunction, or remuneration to the crews turned adrift in a strange land. American citizens were murdered upon the highways and in the streets of the capital, and neither the exequator of the consul nor the commission of the envoy was a sufficient protection against the wanton violence of the people of this country. The broad seal of the United States of the north, was scarcely as much respected as that of the Cantons of Switzerland, and even the flag of the confederacy was not free from the insults heaped upon all that

claimed its folds as a defence.* The revolution which was so successfully achieved by the colonists beyond the Rio Grande, and the abortive attempt of Mexico to annihilate the rebels, enkindled a lively resentment in the breasts of not only the Mexican leaders, but in the masses, whose boastful pride had been so signally humbled during that brief but sanguinary conflict; and the cry of vengeance against the Texans, and the whole Anglo-American race re-echoed throughout the land. The Mexican plenipotentiary at Washington, acting under orders from his superiors, did not hesitate to reproach the government of the States with being the instigators of the revolt in Texas; and after venting his indignation in no very courteous language withdrew to his own country. And yet, notwithstanding these accumulated injuries, the Congress of the nation, with a forbearance unusual under such circumstances, refrained from adopting a hostile policy toward the southern republic, but recommended that a demand should be made upon Mexico for the redress of the manifold grievances sustained by the people of the United States, and if Mexico refused to make immediate reparation, then it was announced that the American government would seek satisfaction at the point of the bayonet, or by reprisals upon the Mexican marine.†

In the summer of 1837, a special envoy was sent to the south, charged with authority to demand redress for the last time. On the 20th of July this personage addressed a formal communication to Bustamente upon this subject. Nine days elapsed before an answer was returned, at the end of which time the Mexican minister who presided over the bureau of foreign affairs replied, that his government was exceedingly desirous to bring the questions in dispute between the two republics to a

* Message of the President of the U. S. to Congress, February, 1837.

† Report of the Committees on Foreign Relations to the Senate and House of Representatives, 1837.

speedy and equitable adjustment, and that "the principles of public right, the sacred obligations imposed by international law, and the religious faith of treaties," should be the only guides which his government would adopt for its conduct in the settlement of the existing difficulties. He also added, that an examination should be made into the causes of complaint, and the decision of his government made known through its envoy at Washington. Toward the close of this year the latter functionary informed the American Secretary of State, that out of the whole number of cases of public and personal wrong which had been submitted to the consideration of the Mexican authorities, but four had been decided, one of which had been favorably disposed of.* This procrastinating policy was, under the circumstances, an aggravation of the injuries already received, and caused even the prudent Executive of the States to wince under the infliction. In his message to Congress, December 5th, 1837, that personage declared it his painful duty to return the subject of the Mexican indemnity to the legislative body, to whom it belonged to decide upon "the time, the mode, and the measure of redress" demanded by the conduct of that power toward the citizens and government of this country.

It cannot be doubted, that if any other nation upon earth had acted in this manner in its intercourse with this confederacy, an appeal would have been made to arms, and satisfaction would have been sought at the cannon's mouth; but the very weakness of Mexico was a better protection against the just indignation of her sister republic than countless fleets and armies. Neither the people nor the government were disposed to forfeit their self-respect by resorting to force with a neighboring state, while the least hope of an amicable adjustment of the

* Message of President Van Buren, December, 1837.

difficulties remained. Accordingly, negotiation was deemed the best policy; and while the French were cutting the Gordian knot by blowing up the castle of San Juan, and thus obtaining redress, the American diplomatist at the capital was vainly endeavoring to unravel the entangled web, in which Mexican cunning had involved a simple question of right.

After a whole year had been consumed in diplomatic correspondence, a convention was signed by the parties on the 11th of April, 1839, for the settlement of claims preferred by citizens of the States against the Mexican republic. The board of commissioners appointed under the convention was not organized until August, 1840, nor did they proceed to perform their duties even then; the Mexicans, whose object was to gain time, raising objections at every step of the proceedings; not a single claim was considered until the following December. Having after many delays arranged the preliminaries, an umpire was selected to decide all of those cases upon which the board could not agree. During the eighteen months occupied by the commission in the discharge of its specific duties, the claims submitted to its consideration amounted to the immense sum of six millions, two hundred and ninety-one thousand, six hundred and four dollars and fifty-eight cents. The magnitude of the indemnity claimed shows to what extent Mexico had carried her aggressions. Of the above amount, two millions, twenty-six thousand, one hundred and thirty-nine dollars and sixty-eight cents was allowed by the board as good and lawful claims, which should have been paid without delay, in accordance with the stipulations of the convention; which terminated in February, 1842, before the commissioners had examined the whole number of applications for redress presented to them. At the time when the board adjourned, the umpire had not rendered his decision upon claims amounting to nearly one million of dollars, which

had been passed by the American officials, but had been objected to by those of Mexico. These were, in consequence, left undisposed of, the umpire ceasing to exercise his authority after the expiration of the term of the commission.*

Instead of insisting upon the immediate payment of the ascertained debt, and compelling Mexico to liquidate it as France had done under far less aggravated circumstances, the government of the United States yielded to the solicitations of Mexico, and entered into a second convention with her on the 30th of January, 1843, in which it was stipulated that the interest on the claims which had been awarded, should be paid on the 11th day of the following April. The principal sum and the interest thereon was to be paid within five years, in equal installments every three months. The southern republic did so far comply with the terms of the last compact as to pay the interest due in April, and three of the twenty installments. The government of the States, under the peculiar circumstances connected with the installments, which were to be paid in the spring and summer of 1844, assumed the responsibilities of Mexico and discharged them to the claimants.† It was provided by the sixth article of the agreement of January 1843, that a new arrangement should be made for the final adjustment of all those claims which had not been decided by the joint commission of 1839. In accordance with this provision a third convention was signed at the city of Mexico on the 20th of November 1843, which, being submitted to the Senate of the States, was ratified and amended. Anxious to avoid a settlement of the indemnity, Santa Anna eagerly seized upon the amendments offered by the Senate as a pretext for retarding the progress of the negotiation, and refused his sanc-

* Vide Executive message, December 8, 1846.

† Executive message, December 8th, 1838.

tion to the alterations which had been made in the origi nal instrument; gaining by this skillful manœuvre the time which was of vital importance to him and the administration which had commenced under the new constitution based upon the plan of Tacubaya.

The question of the annexation of Texas, in the meantime, had been gradually forcing itself upon the attention of the authorities and people of the States. The time had now arrived when that important movement must be consummated or be forever rejected; as Texas, it was evident, must seek an ally powerful enough to render her the assistance her exhausted condition demanded. She was deeply involved in debt, and it was imperative that something should be done to extricate her from the difficulties which threatened seriously to affect her prosperity; and the Texans, with one accord, turned toward their former country, and again asked to be admitted into the republic under which they had been born, reared, and had lived until within a recent period. The open and avowed efforts which the agents of England and France were then making to prevent the union, quickened the slumbering energies of the American Cabinet, and urged immediate action upon this momentous subject. On the 16th day of October, 1843, the Hon. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State, addressed a communication to the Texan envoy, proposing to renew the negotiations for the annexation of the territory north of the Rio Grande to the northern confederacy. The latter personage returned a favorable answer to the proposition, and in a few months the preliminaries were submitted to the parties interested.

President Tyler was an ardent supporter of the movement, and applied the whole weight of his influence to bring it to a successful issue. In his message accompanying the treaty, he said, that as Texas had been recognized by the principal powers of the world as an independent sovereign State, she had an unquestionable right to dis-

pose of herself as she thought best; that the United States was disposed to pursue a conciliatory policy toward Mexico, being actuated by no unjust spirit of aggrandizement, but looking simply to their own security in extending the limits of the confederacy toward the south-west. A treaty of annexation was accordingly drawn up and signed, April 12th, 1844, by J. C. Calhoun, the successor of the ill-fated Upshur in the department of State, and Isaac Van Zandt, and J. Pinckney Henderson, ministers plenipotentiary on the part of Texas. On the 19th of the same month the Secretary communicated the fact of a treaty having been signed to the government of Mexico through the individual then acting as *charge*.* Mr. Calhoun enjoined the latter to give the Mexican government the strongest assurance that, in adopting this measure, the States were influenced by no hostile or disrespectful feelings toward the authorities or people of Mexico. "That the step had been forced on the government of the United States in self-defence, in consequence of the policy adopted by Great Britain in reference to the abolition of slavery in Texas.†" The *charge* was also requested to inform the Mexican government that the States had not taken this measure without a "full view of all possible consequences," while at the same time it was fondly hoped that the amicable relations subsisting between the republics would continue undisturbed. That it was the desire of the American Executive to settle all the questions which might arise from this or any other cause, in the most liberal and satisfactory manner. The boundary indemnity, and other difficulties, it was presumed, would be definitely arranged by the minister who had been lately appointed to the legation at Mexico.

Mr. Calhoun had applied not only his great influence, but every faculty of his mind, to consummate the annexa

* Gen. Thompson had returned home the preceding March.

† Vide the Secretary's correspondence, April, 1844.

tion of the territory west of the Sabine to the country over whose councils he had so long exercised so potent a sway; and it was owing to the energy and ability of this distinguished statesman that the great question was finally disposed of in the way in which it was. It must be confessed, nevertheless, that the arguments which the Secretary brought to bear upon the subject were all one-sided, and seemed to have been suggested by a determination to preserve, foster, and maintain the peculiar institutions of the south, rather than by a desire to benefit the whole confederacy.* Pushing the doctrine of state rights to extremity, he had circumscribed his views, and could see no danger to the republic which did not approach the frontiers of the slave-holding portion of the Union. But the unquestionable talents, spotless integrity, and the absence of all intrigue and chicanery, which has ever distinguished the champion of the south during his long public life, must for ever command the respect of the American people, in spite of the faults which have at times obscured the brilliancy of his political career.

On the 22d of April, 1844, President Tyler submitted the treaty of annexation to the Senate of the United States, for its approval and ratification. In his message accompanying the instrument, the Executive strongly advocated the measure as one demanded by a commanding necessity, the highest considerations of public policy, and the general good.† One of the principal objections urged by political philosophers against the republican system of government is, that while it guarantees equal laws adapted to the wants of the people, encourages public spirit, industry, frugality, and peace, its operations are delayed, its policy disclosed, and measures of the most vital importance rendered abortive, by the obligation of the

* Vide Mr. Calhoun's correspondence with the British Envoy, April, 1844.

† Appendix, XII.

authorities to submit all questions of moment to the consideration of their constituents. The conduct of the Sen ate in regard to the treaty of annexation, confirms the above mentioned fact; and we must acknowledge that it is one of the few imperfections which, thank God, is inherent in the political dispensation it is our happiness to live under. The union of a foreign, independent territory to the already wide extended domain of the republic, was a matter of too much consequence to be acted upon without great deliberation. There was no precedent to guide the representatives in the disposition of the question; and several senators, doubting its constitutionality, vehemently protested against it upon those grounds, asserting that there was no parity between the proposed acquisition of Texas and the annexation of Louisiana and Florida, which were dependencies of France and Spain, not separate sovereignties. The deliberations of the Senate were conducted in executive, or secret session; yet there was found, even in that august assembly, one whose prurient desire for notoriety, or the hope of benefiting his party, led him to violate the sacred injunction of secrecy imposed upon the members, by surreptitiously making known to the public the treaty and accompanying documents.* In consequence of this disclosure, it became necessary to submit the measure to the consideration of the people.

On the 29th of April, 1844, Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky, introduced a resolution for the removal of the seal of secrecy from the treaty of annexation. This motion was debated at length, and after the expiration of several days, was finally passed on the 15th of May, and read, as amended, as follows: "Whereas the annexation of the republic of Texas to the United States is a subject of great impor-

* The penalty for violating the rules of the United States Senate in this particular is expulsion.

tance, upon which the will of the people of this Union ought to be consulted; and whereas the treaty for that annexation now before the Senate, is of great moment, and there is nothing in said treaty or the documents accompanying it, which requires the further observance of secrecy, and, resting as it does upon its own peculiar circumstances, cannot be drawn into precedent for different cases in time to come; therefore the injunction is hereby removed from said treaty, and all documents and papers in relation thereto, now before the Senate." Thus was this important movement defeated for a time, to the disappointment of the administration and a large portion of the people, who had looked forward to its consummation, if not as a means of extending the "area of freedom," at least in the hope, that by increasing the territory of the republic, its resources, stability, and power would be augmented in the same proportion. The Texans were deeply affected by the rejection of their generous proposal, and the party which favored the schemes of England and France now raised its "diminished head," and loudly proclaimed the folly the people had been guilty of, in refusing the alliance of the European powers.

Among the most prominent members of this faction was the Executive of Texas, whose conduct throughout the whole affair seemed governed by the crafty, artful policy of Machiavel, rather than by the honorable principles which should ever guide a republican magistrate.*

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* Vide Gen. Murphy's dispatch to Mr. Legare, July 8th, 1843.

CHAPTER II.

SATISFACTION of the people of Mexico at the rejection of the Treaty of Annexation — Castle of Perote — Description of that Fortress — Texan Prisoners — Houston's Proclamation — Yucatan Indemnity — Condition of Political Parties — Santmanet's Expedition to Tobasco — Its Result — Barbarity of Ampudia — Señor Rejon and the American Envoy — Santa Anna's demand upon Congress — The four Million Grant — Revolt of Paredes — Progress of the Revolution — Surrender, Trial, and Banishment of Santa Anna — Intrigues of Foreign Ministers — General Taylor encamps at Corpus Christi.

THE refusal of the Senate of the United States to sanction the treaty of annexation, reassured the Mexican government, and softened the feelings of jealousy and hatred, which had recently prevailed against the northern republic, and when Wilson Shannon, the American minister, arrived at the capital soon after, he was received in a manner, which plainly indicated the desire of the authorities to renew the friendly relations which had lately been interrupted. Indeed it was not Santa Anna's policy to involve his country in a war with the States; he of all men deprecated such an event, knowing from actual observation the immense disparity between the resources and power of the two confederacies; moreover, he had difficulties to contend with at the very threshold of his palace, sufficient to overwhelm a man of less ability. His experience had taught him, that it would be in vain to attempt to sustain a contest with the slightest hope of success with the Texans, much less with the whole Anglo-American race—rich,

powerful, and enterprising, beyond all other nations of the new world. The American envoy was therefore a welcome intruder upon the shores of Mexico, whose arrival was hailed by all thoughtful men as the harbinger of peace. No sooner, however, had the questions at issue been submitted to the consideration of the government, than the old wounds were opened afresh, and it became evident to the most careless observer that the matters in dispute could scarcely be settled by Mr. Shannon and the Señor Rejon, who had charge of the bureau of foreign affairs. The termination of their negotiations will be noticed presently.

At an elevation of 7719 feet above the level of the sea, in a valley environed by steep and lofty mountains, above which towers the snow crowned volcano of Orizava*—which of old shown star-like through the darkness, lighting the mariner on his way and the pilgrim to his shrine—stands the town and castle of Perote, upon the site of an ancient Mexican village called by the natives Pinahuizapan. The castle is situated about a mile north-west of the latter, on the left of the great road leading from the city of Vera Cruz to the capital; toward the east rises a precipitous chain of heights, a little more than half a league distant, which commands the castle, town, and valley. The fortress is a regular fortification of four bastions built of hard stone, and is quadrangular in form. The bastions, like those of San Juan, project from each angle, and are about one hundred and fifty feet long by about sixty broad.

The curtain connecting the bastions is thirty feet high, fourteen feet thick at the base, and ten at the top. The walls are surrounded by a ditch fifty feet wide, and eight or ten in depth. The entrance to the castle is by a drawbridge and gateway opening towards the east. The

* Orizava or Star mountain is one of the highest peaks in Mexico, it is visible over land and sea for a great distance during an eruption.

fortress incloses several acres of ground, in the middle of which is placed the court, an acre in extent, environed by two-story buildings, which are occupied as officer's quarters, by the chapel, and commandant's residence. Below, in the same structure, is the barracks of the garrison, store houses, armories, and stables : the magazines are in the bastions. Along each side of the interior of the outer walls, is a range of cells, lofty and arched, lighted above the ponderous doors by grated windows; the floors are composed of cement several inches in depth. More than fifty pieces of cannon are mounted upon the walls, and command the approaches to the stronghold. The town of Perote may be regarded as the outworks of the castle, the houses being built of stone, each one is capable of being converted into a fortress strong enough to check the advance of an ordinary force, if an attempt should be made to pass through the narrow streets, through which lies the road to the capital. The Texan prisoners, who had been captured at Mier, had been removed to this gloomy prison for safe-keeping, during the preceding year, where manacled like convicts, they were forced to perform the vilest drudgery.

The treatment they had received, at all times disgraceful to humanity, had at length become unbearable. Fed upon diet such as no one could accept of, unless upon the verge of starvation; naked, devoured with vermin, sick, and in chains, the brave survivors of the disastrous expedition had yet to experience the most melancholy of all feelings, that of being forsaken by their countrymen and friends. Shortly after they had surrendered to the overwhelming force under Ampudia, President Houston addressed a proclamation to the world " denouncing the Mier expedition as a lawless band of adventurers, unsanctioned by the authorities of the country whence they came, and therefore unentitled to the consideration and protection, which by civilized usages, and of right, belong to prisoners

of war." * He had also kept back the money appropriated by the Texan Congress for the relief of the prisoners, and had failed to perform his duties, by neglecting to negotiate for their release.†

To those who have penetrated beneath the courtly exterior with which the former executive of Texas clothed his slightest words and deeds, the complaints of the victims of his policy will not appear improbable. One may say of that personage, that he was never himself save when not himself, and that the false adage of *in vino veritas*, in reference to his case, ceases to be a solecism.

Toward the close of the summer of 1844 the unfortunate prisoners were released. Those who had been carried off from Bexar, by General Woll, in 1842, had been, after sixteen months' imprisonment, turned adrift, in the preceding March, in an enemy's country, to find their way back to their homes, which had been rendered desolate by the fierce ravages of the marauding Mexican.‡ The Convention, concluded the 14th of December, 1843, between the Central Government and the department of Yucatan, which had guaranteed to the latter certain commercial privileges, had been openly violated upon several occasions by the former, during the present administration; unavoidably so, perhaps, as the financial difficulties of the state demanded that every nerve should be strained to meet the engagements which had been entered into with foreign powers. The people of the peninsula were not disposed to sympathize with the supreme authorities of Mexico, on the contrary they seized the moment of embarrassment as one propitious for obtaining redress.

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* Memorial of the prisoners to his Excellency, Charles Bankhead, the British envoy to Mexico.

† Ibid.

‡ General Thompson's exertions in behalf of the captive Texans deserves the gratitude of every American, for now they are once more citizens of this Republic.

The commissioners Barrera, de Leon, and Rejon, who had been appointed by the provincial government, arrived at the capital, and commenced their duties in the month of July, 1844, at a crisis when the affairs of the republic began to alarm all those who really felt an interest in the preservation of the existing dynasty.

The Yucatanese had already proved themselves to be more than equal to the onerous duty of governing themselves, and had prospered during the interval which had elapsed between their separation from the union and the convention of 1843. It was scarcely to be expected, therefore, that the people of that department would quietly submit to the infraction of the treaty which Mexico herself had proposed in order to reclaim her revolted province. Santa Anna received the commissioners coldly, and evaded their demands for redress with the admirable skill characteristic of his policy. The envoys were, however, not to be deceived even by the crafty Executive of the most artful government in the world, but soon discerned the intentions of the President in delaying to adjust the claims of their constituents. The capital at this time was in a state of ferment; the adherents of Bustamente were intriguing for his return to power—the federalists, heart-sick of the military despotism under which the nation groaned, were actively preparing to strike one more blow for freedom and the constitution; another faction, headed by some distinguished officers of the army and several prelates of the highest rank in the Mexican church, despairing perhaps of ever seeing the country in a prosperous condition under the republican system, were secretly but strenuously endeavoring to undermine the present dynasty and to erect a monarchical government in its stead.

Throwing themselves into the political arena with the alacrity of practiced revolutionists, the Yucatanese fanned the seditious fires which glowed in the hearts of the malcontents, and actuated by a vindictive desire to humble

the haughty chief who had slighted their demands, arrayed themselves in the ranks of Bustamente's partisans whose tyranny had first caused the people of the peninsula to separate from the republic. About this period the feelings of the civilized portion of humanity were again outraged by one of those deeds of hellish barbarity for which Mexico and the cannibals of remote islands are alike distinguished. At the close of the year 1843, General Santmanet, the governor of Tobasco, headed an insurrectionary movement against the supreme authority, which proving unsuccessful he fled to the Havanna. Here he remained during the winter, but was finally peremptorily ordered to leave that city by O'Donnel, the Captain General of Cuba, in February, 1844. The exile retired to New Orleans, where he enlisted a motley crew of adventurers, composed of French, Spanish, and German desperadoes, who, at all times, are to be found wandering listlessly about that great commercial emporium; where, I believe, it is possible to fit out an expedition to the realms of darkness. Procuring a vessel, Santmanet embarked with these "cankers of a calm world, and a long peace" and sailed for the Mexican coast in the summer of 1844.

Arriving off the Rio Tobasco, the adventurers already conceived themselves, in anticipation, the masters of the capital of the province, toward which they were rapidly advancing, when in attempting to cross the bar at the mouth of the river, the ship was wrecked. Escaping a watery grave, the party experienced a worse fate by falling into the hands of General Don Pedro de Ampudia, the commandant of the department, and the sworn foe of Santmanet. No mercy was shown to the forlorn wretches; a hasty shrift and a bloody grave, were all that was vouchsafed them. Who knows what great spirits may have thus perished upon that obscure and distant strand? The leader of the expedition was reserved to glut the eyes of his vindictive adversary, who could not conceal his ex-

ultation at the condition of the fallen chief. A few hours before his execution Santmanet addressed a few simple lines to his young wife, wherein his character may be read as "in a book;" the unfortunate General had a warm heart, full of noble impulses, and a courage which rose with the emergency; qualities which, when united, form the *morale* of what we call heroes. The tragedy at Tobasco closed with the death of Santmanet, whose head was stricken from his body and *boiled in oil* by the order of General Ampudia; the gory trophy was then placed upon a pole and left to blacken in the tropical sun.

The administration of Santa Anna, which had from the beginning been exceedingly oppressive, now became positively tyrannical. His will was the absolute law of the land, over which he ruled uncontrolled by law or constitution, construing both as it suited his policy. Surrounded by sycophants and parasites, the president seemed reckless of all consequences, provided his own immediate wants were supplied; the revenues of the state were squandered openly by those whose duty it was to appropriate them to the maintenance of the government, and the preservation of the national credit. The installments on the indemnity due to the United States in April and July had not been paid, although large sums had been extorted from the people for that purpose; forced loans, contributions, and direct taxations, followed each other, and paralyzed the industry of the nation; the tariff had been raised to an exorbitant rate, monopolies were sold to the highest bidder, and even the clergy were threatened with spoliation at this crisis; the naturally acute mind of the Executive appeared to have lost its balance, and he rushed headlong upon his ruin, like the bull in the amphitheatre upon the lance of the *matadore*. The correspondence between Mr. Shannon and the minister Rejon, had at length assumed a character decidedly hostile; the policy of the United States in relation to the

Texas affair was the subject chiefly dwelt upon; and it must be confessed that they made the most of it, under the circumstances. The Mexican secretary, recapitulating the injuries his government had received at the hands of her sister republic, insolently asserted that the latter had conspired to plunder the former by first sending colonists to Texas, then inciting them to revolt, and finally consenting to admit them into the confederacy. To such accusations there was but one answer, and the envoy soon found himself involved in subjects in nowise connected with the object of his mission; his antagonist endeavoring to delay all final action upon the question at issue; and in this he was eminently successful.

During the last year a new and influential party had sprung into existence, which ultimately became really formidable from the material of which it was composed rather than from the number of its adherents. This faction was the *monarchquistas*, who advocated a revolution in favor of a monarchical government as the one best adapted to the condition of Mexico. Several distinguished personages had arrayed themselves in the ranks of this party; among others the archbishop of Mexico had publicly announced his determination to support its principles, as they were more in accordance with those of the Church than even the rule of a military republican despot. The public press of Europe applauded the efforts of this parricidal faction, which sought, with sacrilegious hands, to despoil the nation of even the shadow of liberty Santa Anna and his compeers had been forced to yield to them. The country was in danger from the secret machinations of this party, which excited the indignation of every patriot, while Santa Anna laughed at their attempts to subvert his dynasty by means of a hireling press and a superannuated ecclesiastic. This feeling of security caused him to disregard the warnings he received, and to

pursue the tyrannical policy his administration had been characterized by from the commencement.

Although the Mexicans did not positively believe that the annexation question would be disposed of without their consent, they were prepared, in the event of its taking place, to assert their claims to the sovereignty of the country beyond the Del Norte. The presidial corps on that stream were strengthened as much as possible; the garrisons at Matamoras, Mier, and Monterey were augmented, and every thing betokened that the long threatened invasion of Texas was about to be carried into effect. The President of Mexico addressed an urgent appeal to the legislative body for an additional appropriation to enable him to defeat the *perfidious* designs of the States, by reclaiming by force of arms the rebellious province. The deputies had been so often solicited to perform this very duty that they had become quite insensible to the eloquent messages of the Executive, and were, in consequence, not disposed to comply with his requisition. In no instance, of his long political career, did Santa Anna ever fail in cajoling, or forcing Congress into a compliance with his demands. By dint of threats, promises, and bribes, he finally obtained their reluctant consent to raise four millions of dollars, for the avowed purpose of prosecuting the war. There was but one method by which this sum could be obtained: this was by resorting to the odious measure of forced loans. Of all the wrongs of dominion, it is perhaps the greatest to raise supplies in this manner for the support of an administration, as it is opposed to one of the principal objects for which all governments are founded, the security of the property of the people; when, therefore, the Executive attempted to levy the money appropriated by the representatives, it excited universal indignation throughout the republic, and in the end caused the

overthrow of the chief who, in spite of the murmurs of the nation, persisted in his schemes. The federalists, seizing the moment when the tide of discontent was at the flood, pronounced in favor of the constitution.

In the latter part of 1844, General Paredes, the former friend of the President, issued a pronunciamento against him at Guadalaxara, denouncing him as a tyrant, and an enemy to the state, which had suffered unparalleled injuries during the existence of his dynasty. The insurrectionary movement soon became formidable; and in a few weeks the departments of Jalisco, Zacatecas, a portion of Puebla, and San Luis Potosi, were in open revolt. Santa Anna endeavored to stem the torrent which set against him, but in vain; his good fortune had changed; his former adherents deserting him, swelled the ranks of those who exulted in his approaching fall; thousands of the disaffected flocked to the standard of the rebels, whose force was soon augmented to eight thousand men. The province of Oaxaca, and the district of Aguas Calientes, became infected with the revolutionary spirit, and even the capital exhibited the signs of an approaching storm. The federalists and monarchists had combined to undo him, and the populace were easily excited to rise against one who had restrained their turbulent passions upon so many occasions. Levying a contribution for the support of the army he had mustered to defend himself, Santa Anna left the city of Mexico for the purpose of quelling the revolt, General Canalizo acting as president during his absence. Retiring to Queretaro, he put himself at the head of his troops, and prepared for battle; he, however, discovered to his dismay, that the regiments upon whose arms he had placed his last hopes had been tampered with. Several officers deserted him at this crisis; some of these were apprehended, and executed as traitors by order of the commander-in-chief,

who, as his foes advanced to meet him, raged like the tiger at bay.

The federal army marched against Santa Anna in the early part of December, gaining accessions to its strength every hour, while the forces of the President were as rapidly diminishing. The latter in vain endeavored to arouse the enthusiasm of his sullen soldiery, who no longer regarded him with the same feelings. Under these circumstances, it became but too evident that he could scarcely count upon a victory. Every moment he delayed to fight increased the probability of defeat; with treachery in his camp, and formidable enemies upon all sides, his situation became perilous in the extreme. The federal army at length approached: again Santa Anna, with ineffectual eloquence, besought his men to fight for their general, who had so often witnessed their valor. His troops were deaf to his appeals; and when the enemy opened his fire, a few volleys only were answered, the army of the President deserting him in a body:

"The leader of a broken host;
His standard fallen, his honor lost."

Santa Anna surrendered himself a captive into the hands of his bitterest foes, who sent him to the castle of Perote. General Canalizo, unable to hold the capital, was obliged to yield to the superiority of the revolutionists. During the tumults which occurred at this crisis, the leg of Santa Anna, which had been buried in the cemetery of Santa Paula, was dragged from its resting place, and kicked by the vile rabble through the streets of the city. On the 7th of December, 1844, Don Joaquin de Herrera, a staunch federalist, was appointed President *ad interim* of the Mexican republic, and was immediately inaugurated into office.

Immured in the gloomy fortress within whose walls had pined so many victims of his vindictive policy, the

fallen chief was left in dreary solitude to reflect upon his past career. Unlike his compatriot the illustrious Victoria, who had lately departed this life full of years and renown, Santa Anna could find in the past "no sweet oblivious antidote" to allay the pangs of remorse or the terrible fears of the future, which racked his soul, and filled him with horror. The Mexican Congress acting as grand jurors, proceeded to examine into the charges preferred against the late Executive, whose personal and political enemies were both numerous and powerful, and unhesitatingly demanded that he should be punished as a traitor to the republic. Those deputies who were disposed to feel more merciful toward the captive, were constrained from a regard to their own safety from defending him; his situation was therefore one of extreme peril, and the accused would assuredly have been put to death, had not the President, *ad interim*, interposed in his behalf.* Herrera, in all respects different from his predecessor, was humane, honorable, brave, and generous, a great lover of peace and order, but somewhat vacillating and infirm of purpose. Through the exertions of the President, Santa Anna's life was spared; Congress passing a decree banishing him from the territories of the republic. The prisoner eagerly accepted the terms upon

* Santa Anna addressed a communication from Perote, about the close of January, 1845, to the Congress, urgently soliciting that they would grant him a passport to leave the country, in which case he would promise never to return. He also stated that he was willing to appoint an *administrador* to adjust the claims which might be preferred against him, pledging his landed property for the payment of the same. This well-timed proposition had unquestionably a great influence upon the deputies in their deliberations. His communication was acted upon by the Chambers in secret session, on the night of the 23d of January, and after much fierce and angry debate they finally decided to accede to the wishes of Herrera, and accordingly passed the decree of banishment, Santa Anna's young wife, who was scarcely fifteen years of age, shared the gloomy imprisonment of her spouse at Perote, and accompanied him into exile.

which he was liberated, and retired with his family and suite to Havanna, where, to use his own expression, he lived in peace with an easy conscience, notwithstanding that he was forced to eat the bread of exile without salt.* The federalists having once more regained the ascendency, turned their attention toward the re-establishment of the ancient order of things, and the settlement of the difficulties growing out of the Texas affair. The hopes which had been entertained that the Senate of the United States would refuse to confirm the treaty of annexation, as they had done the preceding session, were suddenly crushed by the passage of the joint resolutions on the 1st day of March, 1845, which provided for the admission of Texas into the confederacy upon certain preliminary conditions to which the assent of the people of that country was demanded. The resolutions were, in substance, that the Congress of the United States consents that the territory rightfully belonging to the republic of Texas may be erected into a new State with a republican form of government; all questions of boundary, which may arise with other powers, to be subject to adjustment by the general government of the Union; the public lands of Texas to be retained by herself, and in no event were her debts, liabilities, or responsibilities, to become a charge upon the government of the United States.

Four new states of convenient size, in addition to the state of Texas, could be subsequently formed out of her territory, and be entitled to admission into the confederacy by complying with the requirements of the constitution. It being understood and provided, that all such new states situated north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, are to be *free* states, where slavery or involuntary servitude is prohibited; but those lying to the southward

* Santa Anna's letter to General Tornel, February, 1846.

of said parallel are to be admitted with or without slavery as the people of the said State may desire. To these resolutions Senator Walker offered an amendment, providing for the return of two representatives from the State of Texas, and for an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of missions and negotiations relating to the subject of annexation The resolutions passed the senate by a vote of twenty-seven in the affirmative, twenty-five members recording their opposition to the measure.

On the 6th of March, Don Juan N'Almonte, the Mexican minister plenipotentiary issued a formal protest in the name of his government against the action of Congress, and demanding his credentials returned to Mexico, filled with indignation against what he called the perfidious conduct of the American nation.

When the government of Mexico received an official intimation of the passage of the resolutions authorizing the admission of Texas into the States, the Secretary addressed a note to Mr. Shannon, informing him that after the 28th of March all intercourse must cease between the two republics. On the 22d of the same month, President Herrera sent forth a proclamation, calling upon the governors of the different departments to aid him in revenging the insults and encroachments of the United States upon the honor and territory of the country. These same governors had heard the cry of "wolf" too often to be roused from their apathy by the executive appeal. Some of them had swelled the same *cri-de-guerre* until they were hoarse, and the very name of Texas had become as discordant as the note of the ill-omened bird of night.

On the 7th of April, 1845, the joint committee of both branches of the Mexican Congress, to which had been referred the Texan affair, reported a project for raising the means of resisting the annexation movement. The legis-

lature was, at this crisis, divided into cliques and factions, each of which was bent upon saving the commonwealth in its own peculiar way. The monarchist opposed the measures of the federalist, not because they were not calculated to meet the present exigencies, but simply because they were advocated by the rival party.

A few honest representatives, who had more patriotism than party spirit raised their voices in favor of what they deemed the cause of their country; but in vain, contention reigned in every heart, and had the enemy been at the gates of the capital, the thunder of his cannon might have dispersed the assembly, but it would scarcely have united the factions.

Determined to foil the designs of the Americans, at all hazards, the government of Mexico readily entered into a conspiracy formed by the envoys of England and France, and the leaders of the "foreign party" in Texas, to defeat the annexation of the latter country, by recognizing her as an independent power. On the 27th of March preceding, Ashbel Smith, the Texan Secretary of State, had affixed his seal to certain conditions preliminary to a treaty of peace with Mexico, which had been laid before the Mexican authorities by the Baron Alleye de Cyprey and Mr. Charles Bankhead. In the treaty, Texas bound herself not to annex her territory to those of any other nation, or become subject to any state whatever, leaving the disputed questions of boundary, and other matters, to be decided by arbitration. Mexico, on her part, was to acknowledge the independence of Texas, and to sign a treaty of amity and commerce with her former province. On the 19th of May, Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, the Mexican Secretary, announced the willingness of his government to accede to these terms, and accordingly formally signed the same. Official notice of this was transmitted to Texas by the French envoy, and on the 4th of June, the president of the former issued a proclamation,

declaring the intelligence he had thus received, to the people, ordering, at the same time, a suspension of hostilities upon the southern frontier. Already this alliance of presumptuous plenipotentiaries and false executives — for the people of neither country were disposed to settle the affair thus — had nearly consummated its purpose, when the hopes which had been nourished were suddenly blasted by the unexpected unanimity which prevailed among the Texans upon the subject of annexation.

On the 5th of May, Anson Jones, the President of Texas, had called upon the nation to elect sixty-one deputies, that a convention might be formed for the purpose of definitely deciding upon the resolutions which had passed the American Congress. On the 16th of June the Texan legislature met in extra session, for the purpose of deliberating upon the great questions which demanded their attention, and on the 18th, they almost unanimously passed a joint resolution, accepting the proffered terms for the union of the two republics.

The policy pursued by the Texan Executive throughout this affair was truly singular, and his motive for negotiating with Mexico and the United States, at the same moment, upon the same question, remains a mystery. We can only suppose that Houston, who was *de facto* the real actor in this intrigue, had in some way entangled himself with the envoys of the European powers, and his creatures Jones and Smith, were acting under the instructions of that personage in renewing the correspondence with Mexico. If, as General Houston subsequently declared, he was only "coquetting" with the foreigners, his conduct was inexcusable and cannot be extenuated by any refinement of diplomacy that is based upon the principles of truth and honesty. When the action of the government of Texas in regard to the annexation resolutions became known in Mexico, the Executive of that country reiterated the determination of the nation to attempt the re-subjuga-

tion of the territory beyond the Del Norte. The convention which had convened at Austin, in accordance with President Jones' proclamation, on the 4th day of July, upon the receipt of these warlike menaces requested the government of the States to send a competent military force for the protection of the frontier. Accordingly President Polk issued orders to Brigadier General Zachary Taylor, the commandant of the 1st military department, to advance with the division under his command into Texas. General Taylor embarked at New Orleans, and landed at St. Joseph's Island, with a force of fifteen hundred men, in the early part of August, 1845; from thence he reached the mainland and encamped at Corpus Christi, near the mouth of the Rio Nueces, a stream which empties into Aransas Bay. This slender army, it was presumed, would, in conjunction with the militia of Texas, be sufficient to check the march of the Mexicans should they invade the country; this was, however, intended more as a corps of observation than as one of operation.*

On the 13th of September, 1845, the government of the States made inquiry through their Consul residing at Mexico; "whether the Mexican government would receive an envoy, intrusted with full powers to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments?" On the 15th of October an affirmative answer was returned by the Secretary of Foreign Relations, who at the same time requested that the American naval squadron, then on the Mexican coast should immediately be withdrawn. The fleet was ordered off the station, and on the 10th of November following, Mr. John Slidell was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the southern republic, vested with ample authority to settle the vexed questions of the Texas boundary and indemnification.

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* Vide the orders of the War Department to General Taylor.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION of Herrera — Intrigues of the Monarchists — Condition of the Public Funds — Arrival of Mr. Slidell — Refusal of Herrera to receive the Envoy — Revolt of General Paredes — Resignation of the President — Paredes assumes the supreme Power — Return of the American Envoy — Yucatan — Army of Occupation — General Taylor marches to the Rio Bravo — Commencement of Hostilities — Capture of Captain Thornton's Command — Siege of Fort Brown — Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma — Retreat of the Mexicans — Occupation of Matamoras by the American Forces.

DON JOAQUIN DE HERRERA, the President, *ad interim*, of the southern confederacy, was a very honest man, a sincere patriot, but a bad administrator. The virtues which adorned his character as a man were, under the peculiar circumstances he was placed in, an injury to him as the chief of a turbulent, unsettled people, who were morally incapable of discriminating between the good and evil tendencies of the present and past administrations; the difference which existed in the mild policy of Herrera, and the iron despotism of his immediate predecessor, instead of rejoicing the hearts of his countrymen, produced a feeling of an entirely opposite nature. His love of peace, which, like its own snowy emblem, was an assurance of safety, was contemned as timidity, and his conciliatory conduct toward his rivals, as the cunning manœuvre of a feeble statesman to gain popularity, by being merciful to his worst enemies, when his interest taught him to punish

them with death or imprisonment. Even the leaders of the revolution which had placed him at the head of the nation became dissatisfied with what they termed his apathy, and turned their influence against him. Paredes, Ampudia, Cuevas, Tornel, and the other distinguished partisans, who had once been his friends, now deserted him, and obeying their natural inclinations, or yielding to the arguments of the enemies of the state, arrayed themselves in the ranks of the monarchists, who, having rid the country of Santa Anna, the most formidable impediment which had opposed their advance toward the consummation of their iniquitous schemes, were rapidly concentrating their energies for the fatal blow which they hoped would forever crush the republican system, and restore the country to the Lord's anointed! These miscreants, encouraged by the primate of the Mexican Church, insidiously undermined the supreme authority, and sowed with liberal hands the pernicious seeds of discontent, which they dreamed would grow into the monstrous shape their fancies had pictured. The weak point in Herrera's policy, in the opinion of his political adversaries, was his acknowledged desire to avoid, if possible, a rupture with the United States. It was against this pacific disposition that Paredes and his associates caviled; asserting that the Executive did not intend to avenge the wrongs of Mexico, but to allow the enemy to dismember her territory without making an effort to resist the usurpation. The machinations of one perfidious friend are more to be feared than a host of open and avowed enemies, because we never feel the blow until the weapon enters our hearts. Relying upon the friendship of Paredes, the President had given him command of the army which was cantoned at San Luis Potosi. Enjoying the confidence of the soldiery, that General succeeded without difficulty in enlisting them in his designs against the government.

The financial affairs of the republic had not improved during the administration of Herrera, nor was there the slightest hope that this important branch of the public service would improve under the exorbitant revenue system which then existed, paralyzing commerce without stimulating domestic industry. In vain the ministers endeavored to extricate themselves from the difficulties which beset them upon all sides; each day brought with its light some new disaster which threatened to overturn the existing dynasty, and involve them in its ruin.

Such was the condition of things at the capital of Mexico when the American envoy appeared upon the scene. Mr. Slidell landed at Vera Cruz on the 30th of November, 1845, and was courteously received by the authorities of that city, and left for the interior with every expectation of being able to bring his important and delicate mission to a favorable issue. But Providence had ordained otherwise. When he arrived at the seat of government, the plenipotentiary discovered that he had come either too soon or too late to achieve his purpose. The departments of the different branches of government were in the utmost confusion, and the Executive and his cabinet seemed like men who were acting in obedience to some irresistible power against their own will.

The political opponents of Herrera denounced him to the people as a traitor to his country for persisting to negotiate with the Americans, whose troops they averred had already entered the territory of the republic, and were then encamped upon the frontiers preparing at "one fell swoop" to ravage and destroy the northern provinces. The army under Paredes, which afterwards refused to march into Texas, echoed the denunciatory cry, and it was evident that the administration was near its end. Mr. Slidell, however, presented his credentials to the authorities, who if really desirous of avoiding a collision with the States

were obliged to conceal it. On the 21st of December, Don Manuel de la Pena, the Secretary of State, informed the envoy that his government could not receive him under the existing circumstances; the reasons assigned for this unexpected refusal, were neither important nor conclusive, and the act could only be extenuated by the dangerous position in which the latter was placed. Paredes and his faction had pronounced against the President, who, determined to abstain from shedding blood, yielded to the demands of the military, and resigned his office, as chief of the republic, on the 30th of December, to the great regret of that portion of the people who were capable of appreciating his many high and noble qualities.

Paredes was immediately called upon by his partisans to assume the vacant dignity, he responded by publishing his *plan* for the reorganization of the government, and on the 3d of January, 1846, complied with the dictates of his own selfish ambition, and the desire of his followers, by accepting the proffered honor. A good soldier, and a man of no inconsiderable talents, the new Executive was in most respects the opposite to his predecessor; having reached the eminence upon which he stood by the bayonets of his soldiery he determined to maintain his position by the same means; and the nation soon discovered that if the administration of Herrera had been too weak and inefficient, that of his successor was too strong and despotic to meet their approbation.

In the meantime the United States Senate had ratified the annexation resolutions on the 29th of December, 1845, and Texas was formally admitted into the confederacy as one of the sovereign states. After the passage of this act of Congress, it became the imperative duty of the American government to bring the questions in dispute with Mexico to a speedy and final adjustment. The late revolution in that country had entirely changed the aspect of things. Paredes had subverted the constitution and had

established a form of government upon a new and widely different plan; the refusal of Herrera to receive Mr. Slidell could therefore have no influence in retarding the progress of his mission, if the authorities of Mexico were disposed to negotiate.

Viewing the subject in this light, the President of the United States, in the true spirit of a pacificator, instructed the envoy to renew his application to be received as a plenipotentiary from the States. In obedience to the orders of the Executive, Mr. Slidell presented his credentials and asked to be formally recognized as a resident minister, on the 1st of March, 1846, two months having elapsed since his former effort to obtain the same acknowledgment from Herrera. The government of Mexico being firmly resolved to maintain what it deemed the "most just of causes, at all hazards, and not to suffer the nation to be despoiled of its territories," was actively engaged in making preparations for war; at the same time being desirous of preventing the effusion of Mexican blood, if it could be done consistently with the honor and dignity of the republic, and by decorous and formal negotiations, announced its willingness, through the Secretary, Castillo y Lanzas, to hear what the envoy had to communicate.* On the 12th of March, Mr. Slidell received a reply to his note of the 1st inst., in which the Mexican minister denounced the course pursued by the States, as opposed to every principle of truth and justice. "Civilized nations," said he, "have beheld with amazement, at this enlightened and refined epoch, a powerful and well-consolidated State, availing herself of the internal dissensions of a neighboring nation, putting its vigilance to sleep by protestations of friendship, setting in motion all manner of springs, traps, and artifices, alternately plying intrigue and violence,

* Message of President Paredes to the Mexican Congress, June 1st, 1846.

seizing a favorable moment to despoil her of a precious part of her territory, regardless of her incontestable right of the most unquestionable *ownership*, and the most undisputed *possession*." The Secretary, Lanzas, closed this insolent and mendacious document by peremptorily refusing to receive the American envoy in any other capacity than that of a minister *ad hoc*, empowered to treat of special business.* Mr. Slidell immediately demanded his passports, and, retiring to the city of Jalapa, remained there until his departure from the country.

The government of Mexico was guilty of a flagrant breach of faith in refusing to recognize the envoy, according to the previous agreement of October, 1845; and as it was in consideration of this engagement of his predecessor that Paredes consented to renew the negotiation,† the refusal of that personage to fulfill the promise of Herrera admits of no palliation; for if the latter's official acts were binding at all upon his successor, they were so to the utmost extent. According to his own admission, the Executive of Mexico had no right to reject Slidell as a resident minister, if he chose to prefer his claims to that responsible dignity. The great error in this affair, if there was one, was the persistence of the American government in attempting to force an envoy upon the government of the southern republic, against its avowed inclination. It would, however, have ill become a nation like the United States to have yielded, even in this apparently unimportant particular; had it done so, Mexico would have construed her condescension into timidity — her pacific overtures into a desire of avoiding an open rupture in order to continue her aggressions, as that power was pleased to denominate the annexation of Texas to the American Union. Those who are familiar with the

* Vide the correspondence between the United States' Minister and the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations, March, 1846.

† Paredes' Message to Congress.

character of this people, know that of all others they are prone to suspect the intentions of strangers—a morbid feeling generated by the anomalous condition of their country, which, nominally free, is governed by spiritual and temporal despots, who have destroyed not only their civil liberty, but have perverted the national mind, until all distinction between right and wrong seems to have been entirely obliterated.*

The States were not alone in having just cause of quarrel with Mexico; the State of Yucatan had never been able to obtain satisfaction for the injuries her citizens had sustained from the general government during Santa Anna's administration, although her commissioners had repeatedly addressed his successors in office upon the subject. In the latter part of January, the Secretary Lanzas, received the memorial of the envoys in a most gracious manner. A correspondence ensued, in which Lanzas promised redress, but failed to do any thing; his only object being to conciliate the deputies, in expectation of securing the assistance of Yucatan in case hostilities should break out between Mexico and the northern confederacy. On the 7th of March, Tornel, who again presided over the bureau of war and marine, made a requisition upon the peninsula for a division of native troops to defend the castle and batteries of Vera Cruz. This demand was very properly denied by the provincial authorities, who, outraged by the presumptuous conduct of the administration, firmly refused to take any part in the anticipated struggle with the States. Alarmed at this declaration, Paredes dispatched a diplomatic agent to Merida with liberal offers of accommodation; the government of the department reiterated their determination to

* In confirmation of this, the reader need only examine the works of those who have travelled in Mexico, since she has become an independent state.

remain neutral, and the Mexican envoy returned home without having effected the object of his mission.

On the 11th of March, 1846, General Taylor, in obedience to the orders of the President, broke up his camp at Corpus Christi and advanced toward the Rio Grande. As the troops under his command had been reinforced, during the winter, by an additional body of infantry, several companies of artillery, and a division of cavalry, the General approached the Mexican frontier with confidence.

On the 19th the advanced guard of the army encamped within three miles of the Arroyo Colorado, an extensive lagoon running up from the sea; it is more than ninety yards broad, and barely fordable at the point selected for the passage of the forces. A reconnoitering party was immediately sent forward to examine the ford. A strong body of Ranchero cavalry were seen on the opposite bank, who announced to the officer in command of the detachment that it would be considered an act of hostility should the American troops attempt to cross the water, and that they should be treated as enemies, if they persisted in doing so. On the following morning General Taylor prepared to force a passage, should resistance be offered to his progress. The first brigade of infantry and the cavalry were posted near the ford, while the artillery was placed so as to rake the opposite shore. The Mexicans again made their appearance, and Captain Mansfield was dispatched to confer with their leader, who informed that officer that he had peremptory orders to fire upon the army if an attempt was made to cross the stream. The Adjutant General of the Mexican forces now crossed the river with an escort, and repeated to the commander-in-chief a similar warning. The latter replied that he should cross the water immediately, "and if any of his party showed themselves, after the passage had commenced, they would receive the fire of the artillery." Orders were then issued for the different corps to advance. Not a gun was fired;

General Worth plunged into the stream at the head of his division, and as they reached the opposite bank, the Mexicans had disappeared, having retreated in the direction of Matamoras.

On the 23d of March, the General reached Point Isabel on the coast; while marching toward that place he was met by a civil deputation from the city, on the other side of the Rio Grande, who desired an interview with him. The Mexicans proceeded with the troops some distance, but finally refused to go any farther, at the same time handing Taylor a formal protest, issued by the prefect of the northern district of Tamaulipas, against the occupation of the country by the troops of the United States. While the parties were conferring, a dense column of smoke was seen rising in the direction of the Gulf; the enemy had set fire to the buildings at Point Isabel, to prevent the army from using them. The General then told the deputation that he would answer the protest when he encamped opposite Matamoras, and dismissed them. Resuming their march, the columns reached the coast that evening without further interruption.* The army remained at the mouth of the Del Norte for a few days, erecting defences, and preparing suitable places for the reception of public stores and munitions. Colonel Thomas was placed in charge of the post which was garrisoned with a small number of men. Having secured an outlet to the Gulf, the commander-in-chief advanced up the river, with the main body of his forces, and encamped opposite the crossing place of Paso Real, in full view of the city of Matamoras. Without delay the American commander began to erect field-works in order to strengthen his position, as he had already done, thirty miles distant, near the outlet, called the Brazos Santiago,† where he established a depot of supplies and muni-

* General Taylor's Dispatches to the War Department, March 31st and 25th, 1846.

† Arm of St. James.

tions of war. With an apathy perfectly incomprehensible under the circumstances, the Mexicans beheld these preparations without making an effort to prevent their progress. A few days of unremitting labor sufficed to complete a strong and well constructed fortress, which overlooked the city of Matamoras.

It was not until the 12th of April that the people on the opposite shore seemed to awake from their lethargy, and to perceive the advantage the Americans had derived from their supineness. On that day General Pedro de Ampudia formally announced to General Taylor that if he did not break up his camp, and retire beyond the Nueces, within twenty-four hours, that arms and arms alone must decide the contest. The reply to this demand was a peremptory refusal, and a declaration to the effect that the American flag would continue to float on the shores of the Rio Grande until "eternity." The General in command qualified his refusal by offering to sign an armistice, which should be maintained until the parties should receive instructions from their respective governments. Ampudia refused to accede to this reasonable proposition, and proclaiming his intention of resorting to force, prepared to make good his threats. Shortly afterwards General Mariano Arista, the commander-in-chief of the northern division of the Mexican army arrived at Matamoras, and on the 24th inst., addressed a communication to General Taylor, informing him that "he considered hostilities commenced and should prosecute them."

On the same day Captain Thornton, with a party of dragoons, sixty-three in number, rank and file, were sent up the left bank of the river to reconnoitre and ascertain whether the enemy had crossed, or were preparing to cross, the stream. While performing this duty the detachment, on the morning of the 25th, encountered a division of Mexicans, two thousand in number, under the command of General Torrejon. Forming his squadron, Thornton, though

surprised in a disadvantageous position, charged upon the enemy, whose great superiority enabled them to resist the onset with such success that the party were compelled to surrender prisoners of war, after having sustained a loss of sixteen killed and wounded in the gallant effort to extricate themselves.

On the 26th of April, General Taylor made a requisition upon the States of Texas and Louisiana for eight regiments of volunteers, each state being called upon to furnish four regiments. The demand was responded to with enthusiasm; the Governors and legislative bodies emulating each other in their eagerness to muster and equip the desired levies within the shortest possible time. Major General Gaines, commanding the western division of the U. S. army, actively co-operated with the civil authorities in raising, organizing, and transporting the Louisiana troops to the seat of war. The whole force under General Taylor at this crisis, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, did not exceed three thousand men; as it was evident that the enemy would soon make good their threats by invading the American side of the river, it became necessary for the commander to act with great circumspection. The defences which had been erected after an approved fashion, under his own eye, were, in his opinion, strong enough to bid defiance to the assaults of the hostiles should they attempt to carry the place; an enterprise scarcely to be expected from even the veterans under Arista. In order, however, to put the fort in a condition to sustain a siege, it was necessary to obtain a supply of provisions, the commissariat having already been drawn upon to its fullest extent.

On the 1st of May, Gen. Taylor left his position opposite Matamoras, and with the main body of his forces marched toward Point Isabel, near the mouth of the Del Norte, where, as has been stated, he had established a depot of arms and subsistence. Contrary to his expectations, he reached his destination on the following day, without

meeting a single adversary. The works were garrisoned by the 7th infantry and two companies of artillery, under the command of Major Brown. The Mexicans had fortified the bank of the river by erecting batteries, in a line with the fort, which frowned upon the adverse shore.

About day-break on the morning of the 3d, the garrison was aroused by the deafening peal of the hostile ordnance; which echoed along the windings of the stream, proclaiming that the Aztec eagle was about to encounter the bird of the north, in whose capacious maw lay buried the fair province protected by its outspread wings. The fire was promptly returned by the Americans, whose superior skill in the use of their guns enabled them to do infinite damage to the enemy. The bombardment continued several days, both parties toiling incessantly at the engines of death. General Arista, in the meantime having completed his preparations, crossed the Rio Grande at the head of five thousand regular troops, and one thousand auxiliaries, supported by a train of more than twelve pieces of cannon.* Arista encamped at the Tonquas del Ramireno, in rear of the fort, and on the 6th summoned it to surrender, threatening to storm it, and exterminate its defenders, unless his demand was complied with, allowing them one hour for deliberation. As a matter of form, a council of war was called, which decided unanimously in the negative upon the proposals of the Mexican leader. The latter, as if determined to carry his threats into execution, turned his arms against the works, thus placing the garrison between two fires. Encouraging their men by their cheerful and intrepid bearing, the officers of the division plied the guns day and night, and with the energy of men in desperate circumstances labored to finish the defences. They even cut up their tents and fashioned them into sand-bags, which were placed so as to receive the enemy's fire. The siege had

* Arista's Dispatch to the Minister of War and Marine.

continued several days, the Americans had as yet lost but one man, who, strange to say, had first been wounded badly, and placed for safety in a casemate, when a shot striking him upon the head instantly killed him!

On the morning of the 8th of May, 1846, the Mexican scouts reported the advance of the forces under Taylor, accompanied by a heavy train of wagons, loaded with supplies. Upon the reception of this intelligence Arista marched toward the coast, leaving his second in command, Don Pedro Ampudia, in charge of the detachment which had been ordered to keep the garrison from attempting a junction with the main body. At one o'clock, P. M., Arista arrived near the water-hole of Palo Alto, and formed his line of battle in an extensive plain, with his right wing resting upon a woody elevation; his left was supported by a quagmire, very difficult of penetration. The cavalry, which composed one-third of his army, was placed upon the flanks of the line thus strongly posted. Twelve pieces of ordnance occupied the intervals between the cavalry and infantry. General Taylor's first impulse, when he heard the cannonading at the fort, was to retrace his steps without delay; but as the guns of the besieged continued to be heard in answer to those of the assailants, he relied with confidence upon the gallantry of the former, and resolved to complete his preparations. In order, however, to obtain some definite information of the actual condition of the party in charge of the works, he dispatched Captain Walker of the Texan Rangers up the river for that purpose. Walker returned on the 5th, and reported that there was scarcely a probability of the Mexicans being able to reduce the fort; stating at the same time that the country between the two places was alive with the enemy's cavalry, through which he and his men had with difficulty made their way unobserved. The gallant conduct of this officer contributed in no slight degree to relieve the feelings of the different divisions, as it destroyed that sickening uncertainty which

is common to those engaged in operations at a distance from one another.

On the evening of the 7th, the American commander took up the line of march for his former camp, at the head of two thousand three hundred men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; the army was encumbered with a heavy train of wagons, which somewhat retarded its progress. That night Taylor bivouacked seven miles from Point Isabel, and on the following morning resumed his march. About the hour of noon, on the memorable 8th, the advance squadrons of horse which had been thrown forward, reached the Palo Alto, and discovered the enemy drawn up in battle array upon the prairie, three quarters of a mile distant. In a short time the main body came up and the General ordered a halt, that the men might refresh themselves at the pool. After resting an hour or so, the American commander proceeded deliberately to form his line of battle as follows, commencing on the right wing: "Fifth infantry, Colonel McIntosh; Ringgold's artillery; third infantry, Captain Morris; two eighteen pounders, Lieutenant Churchill; fourth infantry, Major Allen; two squadrons of dragoons under Captains Ker and May The left wing was formed of a battalion of artillery, Colonel Childs; Captain Duncan's light artillery; and the eighth infantry, Captain Montgomery. Colonel Twiggs commanded the right, and Lieutenant Colonel Belknap the left of the line." * The train was packed in the rear, protected by a sufficient guard.

At two o'clock the order was given to move forward, the several corps advancing steadily by heads of columns, the eighteen pounders keeping the road. Lieutenant Blake, of the topographical engineers, having performed a skilful reconnoissance of the hostile line, now reported the position of the enemy's batteries. As the columns came

*General Taylor's Dispatches, May 15th, 1846.

up the Mexican cannon opened upon them a deafening but harmless fire.*

Halting his divisions, Taylor ordered them to deploy into line, an evolution which they performed with as much coolness as if they had been upon parade; throwing back the 8th infantry to secure his left flank, the General placed the light battery in advance; the word was then given to return the adversaries' fire: it was promptly obeyed; the eighteen pounders, and Ringgold's admirable corps of flying artillery, poured forth a deadly stream of shot, which soon forced the cavalry on Arista's left to fall back.

At this moment Duncan's battery, supported by May's dragoons, was doing equal damage on the right flank. In order to prevent the destruction of his army, Arista determined to make an effort to silence the fatal engines which were so rapidly vomiting death into his ranks. The greater part of the Mexican cavalry had been posted upon their left; they were mostly lancers, and were commanded by General Anastasio Torrejon, the officer who had captured Thornton's party during the preceding month. While the American ordnance was sweeping down his files, Arista ordered Torrejon to charge upon Taylor's right, while he in person proposed to advance with the rest of his lancers and the main body of his infantry, upon his left flank. Torrejon, supported by two field-pieces, attempted to obey the order, but was met and repulsed by the 5th infantry, Walker's volunteers, and a section of flying artillery under Lieutenant Ridgely, which raked the lancers as they retired, after this bold, but unsuccessful movement. The General, anticipating a renewal of the attack, now strengthened that part of his line with the 3d infantry. The long grass of the prairie

* General Ampudia arrived upon the scene at this moment, and behaved well during the day.

was at this crisis accidentally set on fire, which being as dry as powder, blazed up fiercely, and for the space of an hour the combatants were partially hidden from each other by the dense volumes of smoke, which hung like a curtain between them, for the time at least preventing the work of death.

Advancing under cover of the smoke, the American forces now occupied the position lately held by the lancers near the quagmire. When the enemy's line again became visible, the contest was resumed with increased ardor, the eighteen pounders, flying artillery, and light battery, making fearful havoc through the ranks of the Mexicans, whose intrepid bearing was the "theme of universal admiration" among those who witnessed their gallant behavior. The blood of both armies had now become heated; volley followed volley in rapid succession; the air was filled with musket balls, round shot, grape, and canister. May's squadron being ordered to make a demonstration upon the enemy's flank, was driven back with loss upon the main body. Maddened with pain and excitement, the Mexican soldiery called out to their General either to advance or retreat, so that the battle might be lost or won, and not prolonged until the artillery had entirely destroyed them.* Arista, in the hope of quieting the impatience of his men, who were leaving their ranks, sent forward a division of lancers, under Colonel Cayetano Montero, to attack the right wing, from whence issued the most destructive fire. The cavalry were met by a battalion of artillery, which, forming in square, received them with the bayonet; at the same moment the eighteen pounders opened a deadly discharge of canister, which forced the former to retire in disorder beyond the reach of the cannon. Their retreat was covered by a sharp fire of musketry

* Arista's Dispatch to Tornel, May the 8th, 11 P. M., 1846.

from the Mexican lines; a few rounds from the ordnance soon silenced even this feeble effort upon the part of Arista to maintain his position. The Mexicans were driven back in the same manner upon their right by the 8th infantry, Ker's dragoons, and Duncan's artillery. The shadows of night were now gathering upon the field, the roar of the battle, the fierce shouts, and the clash of arms gradually ceased; and as the stars came forth and mingled their radiance with the light of the waning moon, the groans of the wounded and dying were borne upon the wind, and filled the air with mournful sounds.

The enemy, driven from his position, had retired a short distance to the rear, and occupied the chapparal with his shattered battalions, having lost in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred men. The American force actually engaged during the day, was two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight men, who lost nine killed, fifty-four wounded, and two missing. Among those mortally wounded was Major Ringgold, one of the bravest and most meritorious officers in the service. The number of shot thrown during the day, according to Arista's account, from the American cannon, was over three thousand, while the Mexicans fired but six hundred and fifty rounds from their twelve pieces used in the action.

The weary soldiers, exhausted with their bloody work, bivouacked upon the field, and throwing themselves on the ground, reposed upon their arms until morning, lulled to sleep by the melancholy howl of troops of wolves, which scenting the carnage afar off, approached the fatal spot.

"From camp to camp, through the foul womb of night
The hum of either army stilly sounds,
That the fixed sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch;
Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames

Each battle sees the other's umber'd face;
Steed threatens steed in high and boastful neigh
Piercing the night's dull ear."

At the dawn of day on the following morning, the Mexican army was descried retreating through the wood toward the Del Norte, following the road to Matamoras. Sending his wounded back to Point Isabel, and leaving a detachment, with four pieces of artillery, to guard the supply train at Palo Alto, the commander-in-chief ordered his columns to advance in pursuit of the enemy; at the same time throwing forward a strong party, with instructions to explore the chapparal and ascertain the position of the Mexican force. At three in the afternoon Taylor received information that Arista was posted directly in front on the road, which was intersected at that point by a ravine, which was skirted by dense thickets of undergrowth. The flying artillery, under Lieutenant Ridgely, advanced up the road, covered by several regiments of infantry, which were extended into the woods upon the right and left flanks; the cavalry was held in reserve, together with the 8th infantry, in the rear. Pushing onward through the chapparal, the divisions soon came within range of the hostile cannon. About four o'clock the action commenced, the enemy opening a vigorous fire from eight pieces of artillery, which commanded the pass. The fire was returned with equal energy, and in a few moments the engagement became general; the infantry, upon the wings, and the battery in the centre, pouring in volley after volley, in rapid succession, which told fearfully among the serried ranks in front, who, unable to bear the shock, were forced to retire behind their guns.

The Mexican cannon, under the charge of Generals La Vega and Requena, was well served, and kept up an incessant discharge upon the advancing columns, which had already suffered considerably. It became necessary,

therefore, to silence them, at all hazards, and Captain May was ordered to charge the battery with his squadron of cavalry, a perilous, and difficult feat, which was, nevertheless, successfully performed, the Mexicans retiring before the impetuous onset of the horsemen; the guns were silenced, and General La Vega, who had remained at his post, was taken prisoner. Not being supported by the infantry, May did not retain possession of the guns, but fell back upon the main body. The 8th infantry, which had been held as a *corps de reserve*, had been ordered up, and was now hotly engaged with the prolongation of the Mexican left, on the right of the road; being reinforced by a part of the 5th, the division was now ordered to charge the batteries with the bayonet, which was executed with admirable coolness and courage, the Mexicans retreating, leaving their artillery behind, in their haste to escape from the forest of steel which threatened to pierce their ranks. While rushing on to the hostile line, several wounded Mexicans were seen lying in their path, who called out to them, in the extremity of despair, for water; in an instant the poor wretches were deluged with the grateful element, every soldier within hearing placing the contents of his canteen and haversack at their disposal. In the meantime, the 4th infantry, in conjunction with the light companies of the first brigade, and the 3d regiment, which had deployed into the wood on the right, were busily engaged with Arista's veterans, who resisted the efforts made to dislodge them, for a considerable time, with success. In several parts of the field the adversaries fought hand to hand, each determined, if possible, to maintain their ground. A party of the 4th regiment having captured a battery of one piece posted upon the right of the road, Arista sent a strong division to recover it; they were met by a company under Captain Barbour, who, after a brief

struggle, repelled them with loss.* This was the last effort made by the Mexican leader to regain his lost ground. Driven from his position upon both wings, and in the centre, his broken columns, unable to bear the fire which, with untiring energy was poured into their lines, lost all hope, and retreated precipitately from the field, leaving even the meagre repast then preparing in their camp to be eaten by the Americans. The rear guard, which had been left in charge of the baggage train, was immediately ordered up in pursuit of the flying foe, who had taken the road to Matamoras, followed by a squadron of dragoons and the other corps; they fled rapidly, many of their number yielding themselves prisoners of war. In passing the walls of the fort, which, three days before, he had so arrogantly summoned to surrender, Arista was saluted by a discharge from the guns of the

* The following interesting account of the capture of this piece of ordnance is extracted from a detailed description of the actions of the 8th and 9th of May, which was written by the late gallant and unfortunate Lieutenant John A. Richey, of the 4th regiment United States infantry: "A short time after the battle began several of us became separated from our command in the brush, and started forward with the few men we could collect at the moment to take a battery of the Mexicans that was blazing away at us. We dashed forward into the ravine, across the stream which ran through it, and, clambering up the opposite bank, rushed across the openings of the chapparal toward the battery. While passing through the woods I got separated for about ten minutes from Lieutenants Woods and Hays; when I rejoined them they had captured the cannon; they had dashed onward upon the enemy attended by *only one man!* The cannoneers immediately turned and fled; before doing so they had set fire to the priming tube, the gun being loaded; the match was burning slowly, and was about to ignite the powder, when Lieutenant Woods knocked the priming off with his sword. In the meantime some Mexicans ran to the mules, attached to the piece by a long pole, and endeavored to drag it off; Hays perceiving their intention, sprang forward, and snapped his pistol at them; at the same moment Woods caught hold of the driving reins, and turned the mules round toward the gun. By this time our party was reinforced, and moved forward along the road, firing all the time, and driving the enemy

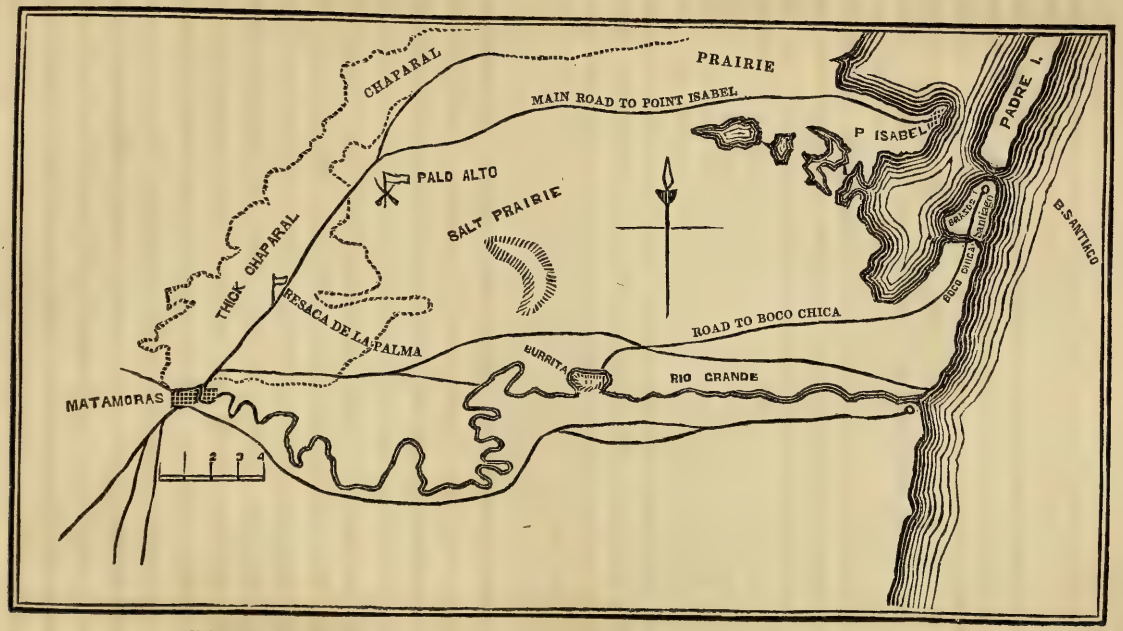
garrison, which caused his panic-stricken troops to rush heedlessly forward. In their eagerness to escape, hundreds of the poor fellows found a last resting-place beneath the turbid waters of the Rio Bravo.

The American army encamped for the night on the hard-won field of battle, a favor purchased with the lives of many brave and gallant men. The marching force under General Taylor on the 9th, was not more than two thousand two hundred and twenty-two, rank and file. The number of troops actually engaged was about seventeen hundred.* The American loss was three officers killed and twelve wounded; thirty-six privates killed and seventy-one wounded. The Mexican army was estimated at six thousand men, Arista having called in the parties of cavalry and infantry which had been posted between the Palo Alto and the fort opposite Matamoras,

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before us. We proceeded on in this way with about twenty men. Woods now separated from us, and we were joined by Lieutenants Augur and Cochrane, both of the 4th. Our little party was composed of men belonging to every regiment in the army. We advanced a great distance in front of the main body, and were surrounded on all sides by the Mexicans, who were firing in every direction at other bodies of troops. At this instant a large party of lancers came charging down upon us; some of our guns were loaded, some were not; our bayonets were unfixed. We ordered our men to retreat. As we were falling back we saw a small detachment, under the command of Captain Barbour, coming up; we shouted to him to come quickly, and hurried down to meet him. We reached him, and turned off into a little opening, and faced the road. As the lancers charged past us, we fired, and killed several of them; the rest ran away, and were again fired upon by us. A great many gallant deeds were performed on this day by the officers and men. Lieutenant Cochrane was killed in the charge of the lancers upon our party; he received three severe wounds." Lieutenant Richey was himself much exposed during the day, and behaved in such a manner as to merit the approbation of his superiors in rank, and the esteem of his numerous friends in the army. He has been described by a brother officer as a "mild, modest, unassuming young man, but a lion in battle."

* General Taylor's Dispatch, May 17th, 1846.



BATTLE GROUND OF PALO ALTO, AND RESACA DE LA PALMA.



a few hours before his last desperate stand at Resaca de la Palma. The Mexican loss in killed was certainly two hundred, as that number was left upon the field; his wounded was double that number, making an aggregate loss in both battles, if we include the missing and prisoners, of more than twelve hundred men. In the Mexican camp were found a large quantity of baggage and military stores, several hundred pack mules, and General Arista's private effects; among which was discovered his official correspondence with his government, a number of plans, maps, and other documents of importance,—the enemy, in their eagerness to save themselves, had, in fact, left every thing behind them.* The number of prisoners captured was one hundred and seventy, including fourteen officers.

The courage with which the Mexicans fought in both actions was worthy of the days of chivalry, and redeemed the reputation of the whole nation. One division particularly distinguished itself; this was the battalion of Tampico, a corps which resisted the advance of the adverse line in the face of a galling fire, nor yielded a foot of ground until nearly every man was cut down, or swept away by the murderous discharge of the artillery.† On the morning of the 10th of May, the victors gathered up the enemy's dead and deposited them, with the remains of their own

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* A magnificent pavilion and several pieces of massive plate were among the articles. Arista's wardrobe and personal effects were returned to him.

† The bravest men in the Mexican army were those who belonged to the Tampico battalion; they stood the destructive fire of the artillery with remarkable firmness, and when the order was given for retreat, but fifty of them remained alive. A member of this gallant corps, anxious to preserve the honor of his battalion, tore the colors under which they fought from its staff, and concealed it about his person. As he was retreating, he was attacked by an American, who, after a desperate combat, killed the heroic Mexican and secured the trophy, now moistened with the blood of the bravest of its defenders. It is a fortunate circumstance that there are not many such spirits in the Mexican army.

comrades, beneath the sod their united valor had consecrated. The wounded of both armies were treated with equal care; they both received the same attention from the medical staff. The humanity displayed by the officers and men toward the vanquished adds much to their renown, and sheds a brighter ray of glory upon the victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

The army, on the same day, moved forward and encamped near the fort, which, in honor of its gallant commander, who had been wounded early in the siege and had died on the 9th, was called Fort Brown. The loss sustained by the garrison during the bombardment, was two killed and ten slightly wounded; such was the admirable arrangement of the defences, that although the enemy were incessantly throwing round shot and shell into the works, they scarcely made an impression upon them. The enemy had five mortars posted on the opposite bank of the river, and it was estimated by the besieged that they threw, during the seven days occupied in attempting to reduce the fort, more than three thousand heavy missiles of various kinds.

On the 17th, General Taylor having procured the ordnance (two mortars) necessary to reduce the town of Matamoras, issued an order for crossing the river a short distance above. He had previously sent Lieutenant Colonel Wilson with a battalion of regulars and two hundred volunteers to the opposite side to make a diversion by the way of Barita, a small town between the coast and the city. As the army were preparing to pass the stream under cover of the fort, General Requena arrived in the camp and requested a conference, and proposed in the name of Arista, to sign an armistice until the respective governments should decide upon the questions at issue. The American commander peremptorily refused to treat upon the subject, inasmuch as he had proposed a suspension of hostilities a month before to General Ampudia, but

that circumstances had changed since that time; that he had received strong reinforcements, and that, as he had not begun or provoked the war, he would not now suspend his operations, but that Matamoras must be taken. At the same time, he informed Requena that General Arista was at perfect liberty to evacuate the town with his troops, provided he left the public property in the place.

Requena thereupon withdrew, promising to return an answer during the afternoon. The expected reply never came, and that night Arista, who had still a force of between three and four thousand troops of the line, besides a strong body of ranchero cavalry, fled from the town and took the road to Monterey. On the 18th, the army of occupation crossed the stream, and in a few minutes the stars and stripes were floating on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. As its folds were flung to the breeze, a deafening shout broke from the different corps, who now felt that the long-delayed hour of triumph had arrived. Lieutenant Colonel Garland was dispatched at the head of a division of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive Mexicans; this officer followed them about sixty miles, and returned on the 22d, after having captured a small party of the enemy.

In its retreat to the interior, the fugitive army suffered severely from hunger, thirst, and fatigue; great numbers, unable to bear these accumulated privations, deserted during the march, and returned to the Del Norte, or joined the partisan bands which infested the frontier. About the latter end of May, the fragments of Arista's once formidable army reached the hacienda of Coma, a hundred miles distant from Matamoras, where he halted, to recruit the wasted energies of his men, who were completely demoralized by their recent disasters, and incapable of farther exertion, from physical debility. In order to prevent all communication between the invaders and the interior of the country, the Mexican leader posted strong parties of

cavalry along the line The authorities of the department, at the same time, issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to hold intercourse with the strangers, under severe penalties, and denouncing all who did so as traitors and enemies to the republic. In a few days, Arista resumed his march, and after much suffering reached the city of Monterey.

On the 24th, the army under General Taylor was reinforced by the first and second regiments of Louisiana volunteers, which enabled him to continue his operations with a greater probability of success. The inhabitants of Matamoras, in the suburbs of which the army was encamped, gradually became accustomed to the sight of the uniform of the States, and neither cared nor wished for their departure, so long as their religion and civil liberty were left unimpaired, both of which were carefully respected by the commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER IV.

Law of the Convocation — Tyranny of Paredes — Condition of the public Treasury — The Government suspends Payment — The Clergy are called upon to assist the State — Reply of the Archbishop — Meeting of the Chapter — The opulence, number, and influence of the Mexican Clergy — Captain Fremont enters Upper California — His Reception — He is ordered to leave the Province — His Reply and Departure — Revolt of the Indians under Juan Alvarez — Insurrection of the garrisons of Mazatlan, Tepic, and San Blas — Liberty of the Press destroyed — Removal of Arista from the command of the Army — Blockade of Vera Cruz and the ports on the Pacific — Pronunciamento at Guadalaxara — Meeting of Congress — Progress of Revolt.

While the American forces were mustering upon the Del Norte by squadrons, battalions and regiments, the interior of Mexico presented a scene—but too common in that country—of revolutionary turmoil and civil discord. The political scheme known as the plan of San Luis Potosi had abolished the former constitutions, and its author had no sooner assumed the supreme authority than he at once indicated in his policy the aristocratic tendency of his mind. Surrounded by such creatures as Castillo, Lanzas, Alaman, Cuevas, his excellency Don Jose Tornel y Mendivil, and others of a higher grade, whose counsels were in consequence more dangerous to the state than the former, Paredes usurped the powers of a hereditary sovereign.

By a decree recently promulgated, called the *ley de convocatoria*, or the law of convocation, the great body of

the people were disfranchised and deprived of the right of sending deputies to the national legislature. Much dissatisfaction was excited against the administration throughout the nation by this unjust and pernicious innovation upon the liberty of the masses—destroying, as it did, the only barrier which had been erected against the power of the executive, which was now untramelled by precedent, law, or the will of the people. The chamber of deputies was composed, under the new organization, of individuals belonging to the military, commercial, and ecclesiastical portions of the population, together with those who were selected from the opulent miners and agriculturists. The representatives were chosen by a limited number of electors, who were compelled, under the penalty of fines and imprisonment, to choose a member of Congress within a specified time.

As an example of the manner in which this odious system was enforced upon the nation, in defiance of the protestations against it, I will cite the following instance. In the month of April, 1846, when elections were held for deputies in all the different parts of the republic, the merchants of Vera Cruz refused to choose a representative, whereupon, the President ordered *five* of their number to make an appointment or pay a fine of one hundred dollars each. The traders were, however, "rich folks," says the account from which I derived my information, "and would have preferred paying five times that amount than obey the unjust command of the head of the government." Several departments openly protested against this condition of things, and called upon the President to repeal the law of convocation and restore the masses to their rights, which, inherent in themselves, could not be infringed upon or surrendered by even their legal representatives, without their consent.

The department of Vera Cruz, especially the capital, is happy in being able to count among her citizens many

intelligent and patriotic individuals, who, from constant intercourse with the natives of almost every foreign nation that has a commercial marine, have thrown aside much of that feeling of jealousy and distrust which is a prominent fault in the Mexican character. As might have been expected, the new dynasty met with much opposition in this section of the republic, in its attempts to force upon its inhabitants the measures above referred to. Accordingly, the departmental assembly petitioned the government to abrogate the law of convocation, and other restrictions which had been lately imposed upon the people.

Paredes answered their just demands by sending a secret order to the governor to arrest the members of the council and commit them to prison. That personage however, refused to obey, fearing that it would cause a revolt, and recommended a milder course as best suited to the condition of the public mind. The Assembly soon afterwards received a communication from the Executive, who informed that honorable body that he had not the power to annul the obnoxious decree, but promised to hand in their remonstrance to the Congress as soon as it should meet in extra session on the first of the following month.

The condition of the national finances, which had been gradually but surely growing worse each successive year, had now approximated a point where an effort must be made to restore the public credit, or the government must declare itself bankrupt. The treasury was literally exhausted at this crisis; all the revenues had been anticipated, and the supreme authorities had been compelled to adopt the degrading and ruinous system of contracts, in order to supply the daily expenses of the different departments of state. The people had been so completely stripped of their means by Santa Anna, that his successors, though they still possessed the flock, could gather no wool. No resort could be had to new and extraordinary taxes;

no imposts could be levied, everything having been already cessed to the very highest point.

To call upon the masses under these circumstances would have been an act of villainous injustice, which even the bold, imperious soldier then in power would not have dared to do, even if his conscience would have permitted such a mode of raising the desired supplies. Yet it was absolutely necessary that the army on the Del Norte should be reinforced, or it would be driven back by the foreign enemy already encamped within hearing of its bugles, and whose cannon were at that moment pointed toward the walls of Matamoras, the great military depot of the frontier of Texas. It was imperative, also, to send troops to the Californias, which the northern confederacy had—through the public press, the usual heralds of popular feeling—even then proclaimed to be the object of their desires. To meet the exigency, there was not a *rial* in the national coffers that was not already otherwise appropriated.

"Under these afflicting circumstances, the government, although deeply sensible of the importance of a faithful compliance with the engagements contracted by the nation with its creditors, and of the fact that credit is of the utmost necessity to every government, and faith in its promises the surest source of its power, found itself compelled to resort to extreme measures,—a course justified by the necessity of providing for the safety of the nation, whose ruin would have been the ruin of its creditors."* Accordingly, by a decree, dated May 2d, 1846, the government announced that it had provisionally suspended payment. By another decree, of the 7th of the same fatal month, over which some malignant planet seemed to preside, the salaries of all the officers employed in the public service were reduced one-fourth during the coming year. A circular was issued

* Message of the President to the extraordinary Congress, June, 1846.

at the same time to the authorities of the different departments, earnestly calling for their aid and co-operation in furnishing the central government with the requisite means for the defence of the national territory and the honor of the republic.

The unthrifty and careless mode in which the financial affairs of the provinces had been managed, and the rapacity of the official agents, had placed the treasuries of the states in the same condition as that at the capital. Moreover, the administration had not acquired the confidence of the nation, and in several parts of the country the symptoms of an approaching storm began to show themselves in the political horizon. Yet it was anticipated that the hostile feeling which existed against the United States would arouse the patriotism of the inhabitants of the provinces, and cause them to lay aside their animosity toward the administration, and to unite in driving the enemy beyond the Sabine. In this hope the Executive was wofully deceived; the provincial authorities either could not or would not contribute a single dollar to the support of the measures which had been adopted for the defence of the republic.

Urged by a commanding necessity, Paredes now resolved to resort to the only resource left unexhausted, of supplying the exigencies which admitted of no delay. He determined to call upon the "venerable clergy," who had been, of late, zealously employed in every cathedral, church, and village chapel, in offering up fervent prayers for the success of the Mexican arms. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, Don Francisco Iturbe, the minister of finance, addressed an official communication to Don Manuel Posada y Garduno, the primate of the church, setting forth the grievous calamities which threatened the republic, and the stern necessity of replenishing the empty coffers of the state; that the war about to commence with the Americans must be prosecuted with vigor, at all hazards,

and under every contingency. He informed the archbishop that the government had been forced to appropriate the revenues which had been pledged to its creditors; that the stipend of its civil officers had been curtailed, and that all classes must unite in the effort to preserve the nation from impending destruction; that the clergy alone had been exempted from the onerous burthens which had been imposed of late upon the rest of the people; and while the Executive deprecated the necessity that obliged him to call upon the church, he would be neglecting his duty should he fail in straining every nerve to relieve the government from the financial pressure under which it was about to be crushed. The minister concluded by asking for a loan of $2,400,000, payable in monthly installments, commencing on the 30th day of the coming June. The archbishop was finally requested to apportion the amount among the various orders of ecclesiastics, so that each one of them might contribute a sum commensurate with their means.

On the 15th, the prelate, who was a warm supporter of the existing dynasty, by means of which he hoped to see his country ruled by a sovereign prince, replied to the minister, that he had convoked a meeting of his chapter, which would that day assemble in the hall of the sacred church, before which he would submit the requisition of the supreme government; and that he was willing to aid in raising supplies to the full extent of his powers, in order to carry on "a war in which the two precious boons so dear to Mexicans, of independence and religion, were at stake."

It was certainly a bold movement on the part of the President to call upon the clergy to disgorge some of their hoarded treasure, albeit it was done to save the country from the horrors of an invasion. The Mexican ecclesiastical establishment consists of one archiepiscopal see and nine bishoprics, eight cathedral chapters, divided into one hundred and eighty-five prebendaries and canonries,

which are subdivided into twelve hundred parishes. The number of clergy is about five thousand six hundred; more than two-thirds of these are secular priests, who may be seen at any period of the day or night, loitering in the saloons, around the *monte* table, at the cockpit, the amphitheatre, or the pulquerias which abound in the capitals. The regulars who wear the habit of their particular order are at least two thousand, who possess one hundred and fifty convents and monasteries.* The streets of every large city swarm with these holy fathers, who belong generally to the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustine, Carmelite, and Mercedarian orders. In the city of Mexico, there are more than fifty monastic buildings, some of which are very extensive and magnificent. According to an estimate made a few years since, the property of the church, in lands, houses, plate, jewels, and money, amounted to ninety millions of dollars, fifty millions of which was held in *mortmain;* they also hold mortgages upon a vast amount of real estate in all the provinces. The leaders of the republican party in 1834, endeavored to cut down the revenues of the clergy, but their efforts were drowned in the cry of sacrilege, raised by the ecclesiastics and their devotees. Since that period, the subject of sequestration has been often reverted to, but those who had the boldness to propose it, were invariably persecuted and driven from the republic by the intrigues of the priesthood.

The wealth of the ecclesiastical body has been constantly increasing, while that of the government has been as rapidly declining. But few persons of property die in Mexico without leaving a bequest to be used for pious purposes, or for the founding of masses or expiatory rites. The conquerors of the sixteenth century, whose religious

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* Report of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. The number of nuns is not stated in the report.

zeal was as violent as their courage was invincible, shared with a liberal hand the spoils wrung from the natives, with the monks and friars who had followed their victorious march. After the mines began to be worked and the precious metals became abundant, the clergy received annually immense sums, which were employed in erecting those splendid cathedrals and churches, which fill the mind of the beholder with admiration. The adornments of these massive structures are truly magnificent; the altars and numerous shrines literally blaze with gold, silver, and jewels of inestimable value. In the great cathedral of Mexico is a balustrade, composed of an amalgam of silver, copper and gold, two or three hundred feet in length. In the principal church of Puebla de los Angeles, (which, according to a legend which has obtained universal belief in that country, was partly built by angels,) is an enormous lamp made of the precious metals which, a few years since, cost several thousand dollars to clean!

Having summoned his chapter, the archbishop laid before it the demands of the government, urging upon the convention the necessity of keeping upon good terms with the supreme authority at that crisis. After the lapse of several days, the chapter decided that they had no right to dispose of the property which had been given to the church for sacred uses; that it was in opposition to the declarations of the Council of Trent to surrender ecclesiastical revenues to be appropriated to secular purposes, and that the Mexican clergy could not, in consequence, comply with the requisition of the state, even to resist a heretical invasion. Such was the result of the deliberations of the metropolitan convocation. The answer returned to the minister was, that, in the present condition of the tithes and general depreciation of property throughout the country, it was impossible for them to pay the ninety-eight thousand dollars a month, which had been assigned them by the venerable archbishop. Disappointed in obtaining

supplies from his religious allies, Paredes was reduced to the greatest extremity, and was compelled to suspend every operation for the want of money.

On the 1st of January, 1846, Captain Fremont—a gentlemen to whom the world is indebted for many new and interesting facts in relation to the topography, botany, geology, and inhabitants of the vast regions lying upon the Pacific Ocean, and bordering upon the territory of the United States—arrived in the vicinity of the town of Monterey, in Upper California. His party consisted of a number of artists and scientific gentlemen, escorted by a detachment of thirty dragoons; the whole expedition, including servants and guides, numbered but sixty individuals. Captain Fremont encamped upon a hill some leagues from the town, and, unattended, visited the place for the purpose of communicating with the United States' consul. While there, he waited upon the authorities, stating that he was engaged in a scientific exploration of the territories adjacent. The functionaries received him courteously, and the young officer withdrew, perfectly satisfied with the result of his interview.

The Mexican jealousy, however, soon became aroused, and the Americans received an insolent order to retire from the department immediately. Fremont returned a verbal answer to the individual who bore the inhospitable demand, that he had hoisted the flag of his country, and occupying a strong position he was prepared to defend it; that his object in entering the province was entirely peaceful, that he had committed no aggression, and if attacked he would resist to the last, asking no quarter. The commandant of the department, Don Juan Castro, misconstruing the latter part of the answer, imagined that the strangers intended to fight under all circumstances, and would *give* no quarter. He collected with some difficulty a force of a hundred and fifty men, but did not venture to assail the Americans, who, after a few days, departed in

pursuit of the legitimate objects of the expedition. In their deserted camp were found a few worthless articles, which the commandant dignified with the name of camp-equipage, asserting that the invaders had fled with so much haste, that they had not time to remove their effects.

The declarations of the public press of the States regarding the seizure of the Californias, should a war take place, had caused the Mexican government to fit out an expedition to that region; the vessels, supplies, and troops, were at Mazatlan, a port on the Pacific, nearly ready to depart, when one of those unexpected accidents occurred which has frustrated many a Mexican enterprise. The garrison of Mazatlan revolted, and, taking possession of the ships' stores and munitions, pronounced against the ruling powers. The military stationed at San Blas and Tepic, followed their example. General Hernandea, acting under instructions from Don Juan Alvarez, whose name has ever been associated with the largest liberty, raised the standard of rebellion in Mechoacan; while Alvarez, in person, proclaiming as his motto—"Federation or death," aroused the Indians of the south from their lethargy, and soon excited a formidable insurrection.

In the districts of Ometepic, Chilapa, Costa Grande, Olinala and Costa Chica, which are situated on the coast of the western sea in the hot and humid lands where the rank vegetation constantly generates disease and death, dwelt a great number of pure-blooded Indians, who retained many of the superstitions of their ancestors and much of their ferocious courage, which Alvarez had now inflamed against the aristocrats. The revolutionary movement soon extended into Sonora, while Gomez Farias, Jose Mariano Salas, Lazaro Villamil, and the Señors Trigueros, Batres, and others, endeavored to overthrow the dominant party in the capital, by declaiming secretly against Paredes and the monarchists.

On the 20th of May, the correspondence between the

malcontents having been intercepted, thirteen eminent citizens who were implicated in the conspiracy were arrested, among whom were several friends of the exiled Santa Anna, clearly indicating the source from whence came the blows aimed at the government.

The efforts made by Paredes to maintain his position were such as were dictated by the law of self-preservation, although they were unauthorized by precedent or the constitution. The chief magistrate, raised to power by the voice of the army and clergy, felt it his duty to hold on to the authority he had been vested with; it became necessary for him, in order to do this, that the complaints with which his administration was assailed should be hushed. The journals of the capital and principal cities were divided in opinion upon the measures brought forward by the Executive; and having enjoyed absolute liberty during the presidency of Herrera, the political editors now vied with each other in defending or opposing what they deemed the good or bad policy pursued by the government. The republican portion of the press had been very bitter against Paredes from the beginning, denouncing his aristocratic principles, as tending to the destruction of the independence and freedom of the nation; accusing him of conspiring with the clergy to bring back the odious system of monarchy which had perished with the ill-fated Iturbide, and of selling himself to the natural enemies of Mexico.

Possessing despotic power, and sensible of the influence exercised by the press, the President arrested those editors and publishers who had by their spirited and patriotic conduct rendered themselves obnoxious to him. The victims of his tyranny were either banished from their homes or confined in the common receptacles of vice and crime, herded with robbers, thieves and assassins. The journals under the patronage of the government, openly advocated the project of placing a prince of the house of

Bourbon upon the throne of Mexico, as the only plan calculated to rescue the country from impending ruin.

On the 16th, the dispatch of General Arista reached the capital, and created an intense excitement among all classes; the gallantry of the commander and his brave men was the theme of universal praise, and no one doubted that he would succeed in annihilating the American forces. A few hours, however, changed their joy into grief; the army of the north, it was known, had been defeated on the 9th; Paredes concealed the details from the public for several days, for reasons natural enough to one in his peculiar position. When the full particulars of the battle were published, the people exhibited emotions of rage and vindictive despair; the populace perambulated the streets of the capital and large cities, shouting maledictions; the drums beat for volunteers, and the fierce cry of *Mueran los Americanos*, resounded through every city, town and village, from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan. The veterans of the line had been beaten and driven across the frontier—ever fatal to the Mexican arms; the usurping army of the enemy had vanquished a superior force, commanded by a skillful leader, and General Taylor was the undisputed master of the left bank of the Del Norte.

Paredes was perhaps more deeply disappointed than any of his countrymen at the issue of the conflict, begun by his orders,* under the signature of the secretary of war. His chagrin was suddenly turned into anger a few days after, when a dispatch arrived from the north, written by Arista, who informed him that, "the means of subsistence for the division being consumed, its energy paralyzed, and its artillery diminished, while that of the enemy had been greatly increased in number and calibre, to such an extent that were he to open his fire, the city of Matamoras would be instantly destroyed, to the utter ruin of the

* Vide Paredes's Message, Appendix XIV.

national and foreign interests,"—he had decided upon evacuating the place before he would be compelled to retire with dishonor.

A soldier of no inconsiderable reputation himself, Paredes could not pardon the "General-in-chief, who, according to his own statements, still preserved four thousand troops of the line, without counting auxiliaries," the error he had been guilty of in leaving his position against his positive orders, it being of the utmost importance as a depot of arms and reinforcements. The President, under these circumstances, removed Arista from the command of the army, and summoned him to Mexico, to answer for his conduct before a court-martial, as provided for by the articles of war in such cases.

On the 18th of May, the American squadron, consisting of the Falmouth, Adams, Raritan, Mississippi and Somers ships of war, commenced the blockade of Vera Cruz,* while the sloop of war St. Mary was stationed off the port of Tampico. There were several American vessels lying under the guns of San Juan de Ulloa at the time, whose masters were unaware of the hostile position of affairs. The authorities of the city asserted that they should be seized as lawful prizes, being the property of the enemy; as they were about to take possession of the vessels, General Nicholas Bravo, the commandant-general of the department, refused to permit the ships to be seized, saying, that as they had entered the harbor as peaceful merchantmen, in good faith, they should depart as they had come.

When Captain Gregory, who then commanded the fleet, heard of the honorable course which had been pursued by Bravo, he instantly released several Mexican prizes which he had captured, and sent them into port, with a letter to the Mexican general, expressive of his appreciation of his magnanimous conduct. Bravo replied, by

* The formal blockade did not commence for some days afterwards.

disclaiming any title to praise, inasmuch as he had merely obeyed the dictates of justice, which demands that private property should always be respected, even at a time of national collision, when it is held by innocent parties. Toward the close of the month, Commodore Sloat, commanding the American squadron in the Pacific, formally declared the blockade of Mazatlan, and, in conjunction with Commodore Stockton, soon placed the western coast under strict surveillance.

At this crisis, when every thing seemed to conspire to overwhelm the nation beneath rapidly accumulating misfortunes, the archbishop of Mexico departed from the troubled scene. He had been the main pillar of the monarchical party, and his death was an irreparable loss to that faction, which never recovered from the shock. This prelate was by no means a bad man, though an aristocrat and an intriguing politician; it cannot be doubted but that he had conscientiously believed that a government based upon the principles which he advocated was more suitable to the condition of Mexico than the uncertain, weak, and ephemeral systems which had succeeded each other with such rapidity since the fall of Iturbide.

The partisans of Santa Anna, uniting their strength with that of the federalists, labored assiduously to reinstate him in the affections of the people, falsely attributing to his rival the evils which had lately befallen the republic. The poverty of the government aided the machinations of the discontented in their efforts to bring about a revolution; the soldiery receiving no pay became mutinous, and were disposed to favor any change which would bring them the means of gratifying their licentious appetites. Paredes, aware of this, had, as we have seen, endeavored, but without success, to raise money, and having failed he was forced to await the expected outbreak.

On the morning of the 20th of May, the battalion of Lagos, quartered in the city of Guadalaxara, followed by

a great number of the populace, led on by Don Jose Maria Yannez, advanced in a body into the great square, and, shouting "long live the republic," fired upon the palace of the governor. The troops stationed to guard the building answered by a discharge of artillery, which did some slight injury, and for a time threw the assailants into confusion; they, however, soon rallied, and having been joined by some other troops renewed the assault; the soldiers at the palace now refused to fire, fearful of hurting the friends whom they had recognized among the mob. A squadron of cavalry was then ordered to charge the insurgents, and a skirmishing fight ensued between them, which continued for some time without resulting in any great advantage upon either side. Evening found the belligerents in this position, both parties retiring to make preparations for a decisive action on the following day.

It being evident that the disaffection was almost universal among the citizens and soldiery, General Francisco Duque proposed a parley, which being granted, commissioners were appointed to decide upon the subjects in dispute. A convention was drawn up and signed by the leaders on both sides, stipulating that Duque and the officers under his command should leave Guadalaxara by the 22d, and evacuating the department of Jalisco, march to the capital by a specified route. The government troops, weakened by desertion, and upholding a bad cause, were compelled to accept of the conditions dictated by the people and military chiefs.

The first act of the successful party was to issue a pronunciamento against the dominant power, and a plan for the regeneration of the republic; the preamble of which protested strongly against the design of erecting Mexico into a monarchy and placing a foreign prince upon the throne. It also denounced the law of the convocation, and the Congress about to assemble, as aristocratic and opposed to the national feelings, the great mass of the people not

being represented therein. The plan then declared that a new Congress should be convened, to be composed of deputies elected according to the electoral laws of 1824; who shall meet within four months after the republican army has gained possession of the capital; the Congress to adopt a constitution from which the monarchical principle was to be excluded; the existence of the liberating army was guaranteed under all circumstances. The sixth article of the plan declared that Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was the founder of the Mexican republic, and whatever may have been his errors, he had ever been its powerful champion, in spite of the European nations and the instigations of perverse Mexicans; that he had opposed himself to the usurpations of the Americans, and that the troops assembled at Guadalaxara proclaimed him as the chief of the patriotic movement. The seventh article proposed to appropriate one-fourth of the revenues of every department to the use of the forces then engaged in the war with the United States.

A provisional government was then organized, the officers of which were sworn to sustain the republican principles, and to repel the invasion from the north. The whole of the western and southern portions of the country were arrayed against the authority of Paredes, the insurgents under Alvarez and his friends openly defying the attempts of General Rea, who had been sent to quell the revolt. The latter, though he repeatedly urged the necessity of being reinforced, and furnished with supplies, was left to carry on his military operations as he could under these disadvantageous circumstances.

On the first day of June, 1846, the Congress which had been summoned by the President *ad interim* assembled at the national palace, and was opened by Paredes in the usual mode. In his message to the deputies, he displayed to them with commendable candor the actual condition of the republic;—torn by faction, destitute of means, and

engaged with a foreign enemy whose fleets blockaded every harbor on both seas, and whose victorious troops were already masters of the northern frontier. He repudiated the doctrines generally ascribed to him, and asserted his determination to support the representative, popular, and republican system. In regard to the war with the States, he said that he had "found himself compelled, on the 21st of March, to declare solemnly that peace not being compatible with the maintenance of the rights and independence of the nation, its territory should be defended, until the national Congress should (while we were engaged in the conflict) determine to declare war against the United States. After having assembled more than five thousand men on the frontier, I directed the general-in-chief of our division to attack the enemy, and he resolved to cross the river, taking a position between St. Isabel and the fortified point of Paso Real."* Paredes closed his address by calling upon the deputies to aid him in the patriotic effort to restore the public tranquillity, develope the immense resources of the nation, and to drive back the invading foe.

The legislative body, unfortunately, did not possess the confidence of the people; and as each day brought the news of some fresh outbreak in favor of Santa Anna, and the constitution of 1824, they felt themselves unequal to the task of freeing the country from so many dangers. Their deliberations were, therefore, characterized by more than the usual degree of procrastination, inefficiency, and vacillation, which has so long distinguished the proceedings of the Mexican senate. Of the hundred members composing the assembly, there was scarcely one who was not devoted to the administration and ready to obey its demands, regardless of the wishes of the nation. They were *Paredes' men*, and not the representatives of the peo-

* See Appendix, XIV.

ple, upon whom they sought to force a system of government as distasteful as it was unnecessary.

Anticipating the downfall of the Executive, Iturbe, the minister of the treasury, and Tornel, the secretary of war and marine, had shortly before resigned their offices; the latter having previously been in close correspondence with Santa Anna, prepared to array himself under his ancient friend, albeit he had so lately served his deadliest enemy. Paredes lost by their desertion two of his best councillors, at a crisis when he could ill spare them. On the 16th of June, an election was held by the chambers for executive officers, and Paredes and Bravo were chosen to the responsible stations of President and Vice-President, dignities which were hourly becoming more laborious and uncertain. The deputies were unable to furnish the means essential to the existence of the administration, though they were disposed to confirm its decrees, however unjust or despotic; a course which hastened the fall of their leader, and their own dissolution as the supreme legislative power of the republic.

To add to the sufferings of the nation, intelligence was brought to the capital of dreadful ravages made upon the frontiers of Durango, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, by the savage Camanches, Apacheras, and other barbarous tribes, who had seized the period of universal calamity to perpetrate the most horrible deeds upon the lives and property of distant and unprotected communities. The government could, of course, afford them no protection.

CHAPTER V.

THE Congress of the United States declares the existence of the War with Mexico — Declaration of Paredes, 1st of June — Pronunciamento at Vera Cruz — Revolt of the Capital — Fall of Paredes — Return of Santa Anna — He is allowed to pass the American Fleet — The Reasons for the same — Paredes imprisoned at Perote — General Kearney's Expedition — He takes possession of Santa Fe and New Mexico — Commodore Sloat raises the Flag of the Union in California — General Taylor advances to Camargo — March toward Monterey — Number of American Troops, artillery, cavalry, and bayonets, employed in the siege and capture of Monterey — Description of the City — Skirmish with the Enemy's Cavalry at Ramas — The Army encamps at the Walnut Springs — Advance of General Worth — Garland's attack on the first Battery — Captain Backus and his men — Capture of the Redoubt by Quitman's brigade — Advance of the Ohio troops — Garland's second charge — The Bridge of Purissima — Charge of the Mexican lancers — Bragg's light battery — Storming of the Heights — Bishop's Palace — The Texans — The retreat of the Enemy to the Plaza — Ampudia proposes to surrender the Town — Correspondence between the Generals — Terms of Capitulation — And the cause of their acceptance.

GENERAL TAYLOR'S successful operations on the Del Norte had created a most lively sensation among all classes of his countrymen, who fully appreciated the ability of the victorious commander, and the gallantry of his officers and men. On the 11th day of May, 1846, the President of the American Union had announced in a message to Congress, that hostilities had been commenced by Mexico, the troops of that power having passed the boundary of the States, and "shed American blood upon

American soil." On the 13th of the same month, Congress declared as follows: "Whereas, by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that government and the United States;" and in order that the contest might be brought to a speedy and triumphant close, the President was authorized to accept without delay of the services of fifty thousand volunteers, and ten millions of dollars were placed at his disposal to carry the above into effect. Troops were accordingly mustered in all parts of the confederacy; and such was the enthusiasm of the people, particularly in the south and west, that a force of three hundred thousand men presented themselves for immediate service within thirty days. To the great disappointment of these patriotic citizens, but a small number of regiments were enrolled into the service.

In the early part of June, the army on the Rio Grande having been increased to eight thousand men, the General dispatched a division under Lieutenant Colonel Wilson up the river to take possession of the town of Reinosa, a movement which was effected without opposition, the retreat of Arista having left the frontier entirely exposed. It was evidently not the intention of the enemy to risk another battle this side of Monterey, to which city he had retired, marching slowly, his artillery being drawn by oxen and his ammunition conveyed in carts. Beyond Reynosa were the towns of Camargo, Mier, and Revilla, which subsequently surrendered without a blow. Camargo was the point selected as a depot of supplies, which were forwarded there as soon as the steamboats necessary for their transportation could be procured.

While engaged in preparing to follow the Mexicans, the commander-in-chief received a communication from the war department, dated 4th of June, directing him to distribute a proclamation, which had been drawn up by the government, among the people of Mexico. The Generals Ampudia and Arista had issued several invitations to

the American troops to desert the service of the "ambitious, overbearing, and insolent" people of the north, who made use of them, as "vile tools to carry on their abominable plans of pillage and rapine." Those who would abandon their colors were offered three hundred and twenty acres of land.* Several German and Irish soldiers, who entertained no very strong affection for their adopted country, seduced by the flattering allurements held out to them by the enemy, had deserted before the retreat of the Mexican forces; some of these villains were shot by the camp-guard as they were swimming the river; those who reached the opposite bank bitterly repented of the folly which had caused them to listen to the promises of Arista.

The proclamation which General Taylor caused to be circulated was of an entirely different character, and illustrates the great and widely marked peculiarities of the two nations. The republic, after recalling to the Mexicans the evils they had endured from the iron rule of military tyrants, solemnly pledged herself to respect the lives, religion, and property of those who did not appear in arms, or oppose the march of the invading army, a pledge which has been sacredly observed during the continuance of the struggle thus far; and never since the hour Mars kindled the fire-brands of war, and unloosed his blood-hounds to ravage peaceful realms, have hostilities been conducted upon such truly Christian principles. Not one deed of rapine, not one act of wanton cruelty, has sullied the victories, or detracted from the glory of the triumphs which have crowned the American arms. On the contrary, the invasion has been to northern Mexico a blessed visitation; their own military chiefs have been driven into the interior, the people are protected in their rights, the supplies they furnish to the victors are paid for, and peace, order, and the supremacy of the law, has been maintained in every

* See Appendix, XV, XVI.

village, town, and city, above which the flag of the States waves its folds. This humane policy has been persevered in, notwithstanding the many provocations which have been received, and which would have long since justified a resort to the law of retaliation. Hundreds of Americans have perished under the knife of the midnight assassin, and many a mutilated corpse lies mouldering in the depths of the chapparal which lines the road from Point Isabel to Saltillo.

The government of the United States having received indubitable evidence of the determination of the Mexicans of all ranks and parties to continue the contest, regardless of all consequences, vigorously set to work to "conquer a peace,"—a difficult experiment, but not impracticable; in fact, the events of the last year have proved this to be the only mode of bringing the enemy to their senses. It was proposed to invade the interior of Mexico at three different points at the same time; the main army, under Taylor, to follow the route to Monterey, Saltillo and San Luis Potosi; the second division, commanded by Brigadier-General Wool, was ordered to rendezvous at Bexar, and from thence march upon Chihuahua; finally, the third, which was to be composed of a smaller force, was mustered at Fort Leavenworth, and was to cross the plains and take possession of Santa Fe, of New Mexico. By adopting this plan, it was presumed that the war would be brought to a speedy conclusion, as the Mexicans would be compelled to raise, organize, and equip, three separate armies of considerable strength, which was known to be utterly impossible in the then exhausted condition of their treasury.

Colonel Kearney, who was the commander of the Santa Fe expedition, began his march in June, at the head of two thousand seven hundred men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, a part of whom were Missouri volunteers, accustomed to use of the rifle, and the adventurous life of backwoodsmen. There was also under his orders a battalion of Mormons,

who were about moving in a body to the shores of the Pacific in search of a home, where their superstitious and heretical religious opinions would be allowed to flourish in their luxuriant wildness.

While these preparations for the invasion of Mexico were in rapid progress, the people and government of that country were arrayed in deadly hostility to each other. Paredes had met with some slight success against the partisans of Santa Anna; the troops he had sent into Jalisco having checked the advance of the rebels, and driven them with loss back to Guadalaxara, which they had, however, fortified, and held possession of with a formidable force. Alvarez had taken all the principal cities on the western coast, the insurrection spreading in every direction until but a small portion of the republic remained in allegiance to the administration.

It was the desire of Paredes that he would be permitted to take command of the army of the north in person, that he might prove to the nation his devotion to their interests. His friends would not allow him to leave the capital, knowing that the opposing factions would seize that moment to overthrow his dynasty, and consummate their designs; the members of his cabinet tendered their resignations, when he announced his determination of setting out for Monterey. Under these circumstances, the President was compelled to remain at the capital. Congress continued, in the mean time, to hold its sessions from week to week, and, although many measures had been proposed for the relief of the country, but little was done, the want of money stifling every scheme at its birth. Two months had been consumed in useless debate, when a sudden change took place which abruptly closed their deliberations.

The revolutionists did not neglect the opportunity afforded them by the inefficiency of the government to advance their cause; they had gained over the populace

of the city—ever ready for revolt—and a part of the troops stationed there for the protection of government. In the early part of August, every thing being arranged, the storm burst forth, and swept the aristocratic faction from power, leaving not a wreck behind. On the 3d of August, intelligence was received at the capital, that the city of Vera Cruz had declared in favor of Santa Anna on the 31st of the preceding month, and had invited the illustrious exile to return to his native land. This information created a great excitement; Paredes and Bravo made a gallant effort to sustain themselves, but it was too late.

On the morning of the 4th, Generals Juan Morales and Jose Mariano de Salas, in conjunction with Gomez Farias and the other leaders of their party, raised the tricolor and issued a pronunciamento in favor of the republican federal system. The movement was eminently successful; the revolutionists occupied the citadel of Mexico, and were sustained by the greater part of the troops, but a small number of whom remained faithful to Paredes and Bravo. Any attempt to contest the supremacy against such superior numbers would have been madness; the President soon after left the city, escorted by a squadron of lancers, and took the road to Queretaro.

Owing to the respect entertained for the character and services of General Bravo, the Vice-President, he was unmolested, and remained at the capital. The laws enacted by the Congress were declared null by the new authorities, and that body was dissolved without delay.* All Mexicans who had been exiled, and especially Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, " the well-deserving of his country," were invited to return; the latter personage was solicited to take command of the armies of the republic. A new Congress was to be summoned immediately, to meet within four months, the members to be elected ac-

* See Appendix, XVII.

cording to the laws of 1824; any one who should attempt to retard the election of representatives, to dissolve the legislative body, or to suspend its sessions, was declared to be a traitor to the nation. Salas and his associates further announced in their plan for the regeneration of the republic; that the monarchical principle should be excluded from the future form of government, and that the honor, rights, and independence of the people should be maintained. On the 7th, General Salas assumed the supreme command, which he exercised with moderation and a due regard to the interests of his countrymen. On the 16th of August, the steamer Arab sailed into the harbor of Vera Cruz, having on board the person and suite of the late exile, his excellency, General Santa Anna. Orders had been issued as early as the 13th of May, by the Executive, to the commander of the blockading fleet, "not to obstruct the passage of Santa Anna to Mexico, should he attempt to return;" he had, therefore, been allowed to pass without molestation.

The reasons for which this singular order was given, are stated by the President to have been based upon the belief, that the return of the exile would breed "intestine divisions" among the Mexicans, and that, weakened by the contests of rival factions, whoever triumphed, in the end both parties would be disposed to restore and preserve peace with the States.* A most fatal error it was, to thus sanction the return of perhaps the only man in all Mexico, who was capable of uniting the various parties, developing the resources of the country, or of organizing and maintaining a powerful army. A better mode of indefinitely prolonging the war could not have been suggested by the demon of discord himself. Santa Anna was received with the liveliest enthusiasm by the Vera Cruzans.—

* See the President of the United States' annual Message to Congress, December, 1846.

Salutes of artillery, the rolling of drums, and the loud shouts of the people welcomed him as he touched the shore, from which, six years before, he had driven the retreating French; this was recalled to his mind now, and he felt that fortune had returned to his side.

Soon after landing, Santa Anna issued a manifesto, in which he congratulated the nation upon the result of the late revolution, and the prospect of a continuance of the blessings of independence and liberty; his remarks on the existing war were neither violently expressed nor conceived in an ungenerous spirit. On the 18th the General left for his hacienda of Encerro, where he was met by a deputation from the government, officially informing him of the desire of the nation that he would assume the supreme authority as soon as possible.

In the mean time, Paredes, who had fled from the capital with a party of fifty lancers, was captured on the 5th by a strong body of cavalry which had been sent in pursuit of him; he made no resistance, and was conveyed back to the city. He was treated with the greatest courtesy by Salas and his friends, and after being confined some days there, was sent to the castle of Perote, as a prisoner, to await the sentence of his rival. The two chiefs approached the lofty mountains which wall in the valley of Anahuac, by a strange coincidence, at the same moment, in opposite directions, and with far different prospects; one was returning from exile, the envied idol of the people, the other was on his way to a gloomy prison, perhaps to fill a grave already prepared by his victorious enemy.

General Almonte and the Senor Rejon arrived at the capital in the latter part of August, and were immediately appointed to office; the former as secretary of war and marine, the latter as minister of foreign relations. The whole of Mexico had by this time given in its adhesion to the new government; even Yucatan had pronounced for Santa Anna and the federal system.

On Sunday, the 16th of August, General Kearney's advance reached the town of San Miguel, a few miles from Santa Fe, after a toilsome march over the plains of nearly nine hundred miles.* The alcalde and people of the village were immediately summoned to the presence of the American commander, who addressed them as friends, informing them he came, by the order of the government of the United States, to take possession of New Mexico, and to extend its laws over† them; that he had a large force with him, and that another army would soon pass through their village; he added, that they were absolved from all allegiance to Don Manuel Armijo, the former governor of the province, and that they were now under the protection of the United States. The alcalde was then requested to take the oath of fidelity prescribed in such cases. That functionary, however, demurred, desiring to be excused until the capital had acknowledged the sovereignty of the States; he finally consented, provided his religion was protected. The General assuring him that it should be, he readily took the following oath, administered to him in presence of the people by the former: "You swear that you will bear true allegiance to the government of the United States of America; and that you will defend her against all her enemies and opposers, in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen." After this ceremony, the alcalde was confirmed in his office, and the inhabitants charged to obey him as heretofore. The village padre then invited the general and his staff to his house, where they partook of refreshments, and finally parted on the best of terms.

Various rumors had been conveyed to Kearney, as he was advancing of strong bodies of horse, foot, and artillery,

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* It was performed in fifty days.

† This account of Kearney's expedition is taken from the journal of an officer under his command.

that were mustering to dispute his progress; as he approached the city of Santa Fe, it became evident that there would be no defence made of the territory. On the 17th, the picket guard took a son of Captain Salazar prisoner—the monster whose cruelty has been referred to in the account given of the disastrous Texan expedition. The youth stated that the governor had fled, his men had dispersed, and the road was open. The fact was, that Armijo was too shrewd and selfish a personage to risk an engagement, although he had collected a strong force, which had been posted in a narrow pass, defended by several pieces of cannon. On the evening of the 18th of August, the General entered the city of Santa Fe, and dismounting with his escort, was received by the authorities and conducted into the public hall. He there informed them of his intention to occupy the country, and assured them of safety and protection in their liberty, religion, and property. While he was yet speaking, the roar of artillery was heard, and the flag of the Union flung its folds over the capital of New Mexico.

On the 19th, General Kearney, who occupied Armijo's palacio, addressed the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country, who had assembled for the purpose of hearing him speak. He repeated to them the object of his invasion of the territory, giving them positive assurances of protection in all things. Many families of the better sort had fled at the approach of the Americans; these he requested their friends to bring back, and to say to them that they would live more safely under his administration than they had ever done before. He concluded by formally absolving them from their allegiance to Mexico, and claimed them as citizens of the United States. The acting governor and municipal authorities then took the prescribed oath, and the people exclaimed with a simultaneous shout, "Viva la General!"

The governor *ad interim* then addressed his countrymen as follows:

"John Baptist Vigil political and military governor *pro tem.*, of the department of New Mexico, to the inhabitants of Santa Fe, the capital thereof, greeting: It having been out of my power by all the means I could put in practice, to calm the fears impressed on the people by the desertion of General Don Manuel Armijo and his soldiers, and what was most frightful, he having made them conceive on the approach of the military forces of the government of the United States of North America to the capital, that said forces were composed of cruel and sanguinary savages, upon which many families left their homes to hide themselves in the desert—believing that no security, no protection to their lives or property, was to be expected from the commander of said forces. In order to quiet these fears, I have thought it convenient and necessary to cause to be set up in the most public places, the proclamation of the chief of said forces, of which the following is the tenor."

He then read the manifesto in the Spanish language which had been issued by the General; the instrument will be found at the close of this work.* A provisional government was subsequently organized at Santa Fe, of which Mr. Bent, an American well acquainted with the peculiarities of the people of that remote region, was appointed the Executive.

General Kearney having received the expected reinforcements, soon after left for California with a detachment of one hundred men. The Mormon battalion, consisting of five hundred men, under the command of Colonel Cooke, also marched for the same point; advancing through the province of Sonora, to Las Playas, and San Bernardino, they reached the banks of the Rio San Pedro, and followed that river to the sea of Cortes, and thence proceeded up the coast to the capital of California, which had been in possession of the Americans several months.

On the 6th of July, 1846, Commodore Sloat had hoisted

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* See Appendix, XVIII.

the flag of the United States on the walls of Monterey, and announced to the inhabitants of the country that, although he came in arms, with a powerful force, he did not come as an enemy, but as "their best friend," as thenceforth California would belong to the States, and her people would enjoy the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any other portion of that republic.*

On the 19th of August, Commodore Stockton declared all the ports of Mexico south of San Diego to be in a state of vigorous blockade, which was to be absolute, except to armed vessels of neutrals.

About the middle of August, the several *corps d'armée* under the command of General Taylor were concentrated at Camargo. His troops, part of whom were volunteers, consisted of eight thousand seven hundred and forty men, a portion of whom were cavalry.† On the 20th of that

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* See Appendix, XIX.

† The army that marched on Monterey was as follows:

BUTLER'S DIVISION.

1st regiment Ohio volunteers—Col. Mitchell	Hamer's Brigade	540
1st do. Kentucky do. Col. Ormsby		540
1st do. Tennessee troops—Col. Campbell	Quitman's Brigade	540
Mississippi volunteers—Col. Davis		690
Baltimore battalion—Watson (Total, 2710)		400

WORTH'S DIVISION.

Col. P. Smith's regiment of regular troops	500
Parts of 6th and other infantry regiments and dragoons	1080
Two companies, McCulloch's and Gillespie's Texas rangers (Total, 1700.)	100

TWIGG'S DIVISION.

Texas mounted men—Col. Hays'	500
May's dragoons—4 companies	250
Ridgely and Duncan's flying artillery	100
Webster's artillery (a 10 inch mortar)	60
Parts of several infantry regiments and of artillery armed as infantry—(Total, 2230)	1320
Total, in all	6640

month, General Worth began his march toward the city of Monterey, the capital of the department of Nueva Leon. His division, composed of one thousand five hundred and eighty regulars, and two companies of Texas rangers, two hundred and twenty in number, reached Cerralvo, seventy miles distant, on the 25th, and encamped beyond the town, having encountered no obstructions, nor a single hostile party upon the route. Butler's and Twigg's divisions followed shortly after; and on the 5th of September the general-in-chief left Camargo to join the army which had preceded him, leaving the town garrisoned with a force of two thousand one hundred men, which reduced the number of troops on the advance against the enemy to six thousand six hundred and forty-five.

The Texan cavalry were sent forward by General Worth to reconnoitre, and to ascertain whether the Mexicans occupied the road in front; about forty miles beyond Cerralvo, the rangers discovered a strong body of regular lancers and ranchero horsemen posted in a ravine. As the latter were too numerous to encounter with the hope of success, the former returned to camp; and General Worth receiving a reinforcement, the march toward Monterey was resumed, it being evident that the enemy did not intend to dispute their passage. The troops suffered much during the long march of more than one hundred and fifty miles from the excessive heat and fatigue; it was of immense service, however, to the volunteer corps, as it conduced to their improvement in discipline, and, as it were, converted them into regular soldiery. Leaving the village of Marin on the 18th, the army reached the Walnut Springs, three miles from Monterey, on the following day, and encamped; the Mexican cavalry had been seen frequently in the front, and some slight skirmishing had taken place on the route, from which it was inferred that a strong force occupied the city.

The capital of Nueva Leon is situated in the valley

of San Juan, on all sides of which rise lofty and rugged hills; along the base of these heights wind cultivated fields of corn, sugar, and maguey, while on the mountains above are seen scanty crops of wheat and barley. The orange and the plantain, the pine-apple and the bannana, the grape, and all the fruits of the temperate and tropical regions, flourish in this sheltered and well-watered valley; protected as it is by the elevated ridges of the eastern branch of the Sierra Madre, some of whose peaks tower to the skies.

Monterey is laid out into regular streets; the houses are seldom more than one story high, and built of stone, and with parapeted roofs, which served the purpose of the defenders right well during the siege. The heights which overlooked the city had been fortified at several points; a large work had been recently erected which commanded the northern approaches, while the Bishop's palace and adjoining hills were fortified so as to defend the city in the direction of the Saltillo road; the cemetery below was also turned into a stronghold; its walls were pierced for cannon, and upon the eastern side several smaller works mounted with batteries defended the lower part of the town. Trenches were cut in several of the streets, which, with the peculiar manner in which the houses were built, rendered the interior of the place almost as strong as the regular fortifications without. The city and works were armed with forty-two pieces of ordnance, the magazines were filled with ammunition, the garrison consisted of seven thousand troops of the line, and from two to three thousand irregular and auxiliary forces. The number of inhabitants was about ten thousand, who were commanded to "assist in the national defence with their arms, in the manner, time, and form, which the authorities should determine."*

* Ampudia's Proclamation, Aug. 31st, 1846, to the people of Monterey.

The Mexicans were under General Pedro de Ampudia, who had declared Monterey to be in a state of siege even before Taylor left Camargo, and had suspended the civil power, proclaiming martial law in its stead, as early as the 31st of August. On the evening of the 19th of September, the American commander ordered a reconnoissance of the works in the direction of the Saltillo road, which was ably executed by the engineer officers under the superintendence of Major Mansfield, of that efficient arm of the service. A reconnoissance was also successfully made at the same time on the eastern side of the town, which confirmed the opinion already formed by the general, that it was not improbable that the place, strong as it undoubtedly was, could be carried. Instead, however, of making regular approaches to it by opening parallels in the ordinary mode, he resolved to take it by means of the heavy artillery, musketry, and bayonet.

At two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of September, Brigadier-General Worth, who had been ordered "to turn the hill of the Bishop's palace, to occupy a position on the Saltillo road, and to carry the enemy's works in that quarter where practicable,"* took up his march at the head of his division and five hundred Texan cavalry under Colonel Hays. The besieged, perceiving this movement, immediately reinforced their troops in the Bishop's palace and adjoining height, and Taylor, in the hope of diverting their attention from Worth, displayed his whole force in front of the town, where they remained until the approach of night. The second division advanced to a point just beyond the range of the enemy's guns, and laid there during the evening upon their arms. During the night, a battery of two twenty-four pounder howitzers and a ten inch mortar, which composed the siege train, were placed

* General Taylor's Dispatch, Oct. 8th, 1846.

to bear upon the citadel, which was the principal defence on the northern side of the place.

On the morning of the 21st, Twigg's division and the volunteers under Butler approached the town, supported by the flying artillery of eight light field-pieces. The four companies of dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel May, and Colonel Woods' regiment of Texan cavalry, were directed to the right, as a support to General Worth; while a force of six hundred and forty-one men, sustained by Captain Bragg's battery, were sent forward under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, to make a demonstration on the lower part of the town. Butler's division remained in rear of the howitzers and mortar, which were now throwing an effective fire into the citadel, which was steadily answered by the Mexican ordnance.

In obedience to his instructions, Garland moved onward to the point of attack designated by Major Mansfield, who accompanied the column; as they advanced, the enemy opened a fire upon the line from a redoubt in front, and another from the principal fort. Marching rapidly onward, they soon entered the town, and took a position in rear of the hostile battery, under a heavy discharge of small arms, which was poured into their ranks from behind a barricade thrown across the narrow street.

Bragg's artillery was then brought up, and one gun was placed so as to rake the avenue; but its shot produced no effect upon the well-constructed defences; this being the case, the cannon were ordered to the rear, and the infantry to press forward. Captain Backus had succeeded in getting possession of a house, from the roof of which his company kept up a galling discharge into the party which manned the redoubt, annoying them excessively all the while, and diverting their attention from the movements in front. The main body of Garland's command having suffered severely, now fell back to reform, and prepare for another struggle.

At this crisis, General Taylor ordered the fourth infantry and three regiments of volunteers to march at once upon the heavy battery, which was pouring a continuous fire from five pieces of cannon. The Mississippi and Tennessee troops, preceded by three companies of the fourth, advanced against the work, while the Ohio regiment under General Butler entered the town to the right. The advance of the fourth was received by so destructive a discharge, that one-third of the officers and men were instantly killed or disabled; they were compelled to retire until reinforced. The Tennessee and Mississippi corps under General Quitman pushed onward, and with the aid of Captain Backus, whose men still occupied the roof of the house in the rear of the redoubt, he captured it in gallant style, taking five pieces of ordnance, a large quantity of ammunition, and several Mexican officers and men prisoners.*

To the left of the first battery was another, against which the Ohio regiment now advanced; but such was its strength, and the severity of the fire which flanked its approach, that a retrogade movement was deemed prudent; its commander, General Butler, having been wounded, was now compelled to quit the field,—the regiment, therefore, was withdrawn from the town. The guns of the first battery were turned against the second redoubt beyond; an incessant firing was kept up upon the Americans during this time by the latter, and the enemy in the citadel; to answer which the howitzers were brought up and placed to bear upon the farthest work. A division composed of portions of several regular regiments and the Baltimore battalion, was now sent to reinforce Colonel Garland, who was ordered to advance again, and carry the redoubt with the bayonet. In the effort to execute this command, the troops passed several trenched and barricaded streets,

* General Taylor's Dispatch, Oct, 9th, 1846.

raked by cannon and musketry; exposed to a galling fire, the party endeavored to reach the rear of the battery, but unfortunately came upon a bridge, the other extremity of which was defended by two pieces of artillery, which checked their advance in that direction. The infantry maintained their position here against the most fearful odds, notwithstanding the enemy's attempt to dislodge them, until their ammunition began to fail, when they retired in good order.*

While these events were progressing in the interior of the town, several squadrons of Mexican cavalry deployed into the plain, under cover of the citadel. Captain Bragg opened a fire upon them with his light battery, and after a few rounds forced them to retreat; previous to this, the lancers had charged upon the Tennessee and Ohio line, and had been repulsed with loss. A third demonstration of the same kind, made upon the opposite side of the San Juan, had been dispersed by Ridgely's flying artillery. In the mean time, General Worth's division, supported by the Texan cavalry and May's dragoons, under the command of General Henderson, had early in the morning advanced upon the Mexican batteries, and had defeated their troops with considerable loss; after a sharp conflict, he carried three of their fortified positions by storm, and succeeded in reaching the Saltillo road, thus cutting off the enemy's communication with the interior. From this point, the two heights south of the road were taken in succession, and a gun found on one of them was immediately turned upon the Bishop's palace, which was the only work which remained in the possession of the besieged in rear of the city.

At night-fall, General Taylor ordered the troops composing Twigg's and Butler's divisions back to the camp at the Springs, except Ridgely's artillery, a battalion of Ken-

* Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's Report to Brigadier-General Twiggs.

tucky volunteers, and the regular infantry, which remained to guard the works under the command of Lieutenant-Col. Garland; Worth's division bivouacked on the Saltillo road. At dawn of day on the 22d, the energetic chief of the second division was on the alert, and carried the height overlooking the Bishop's palace, which was also taken about one o'clock, and its cannon turned upon the flying foe, who were compelled to abandon the cemetery below which they had fortified. The defences on that side of the city were thus converted into so many points of attack, from which a destructive fire was opened upon the town. The guns of the citadel continued to pour forth their contents upon the parties of the besiegers who were exposed in front, and upon the redoubt now occupied by the Americans, which had been captured the day before. But no movement of importance was made on the northern part of the town during the 22d, both parties confining themselves to a distant cannonading.

On the morning of the 23d, it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated nearly all of his works in the lower part of the city. General Taylor immediately sent instructions to General Quitman to enter the place, if he deemed it advisable; at the same time, ordering up the other portion of the first division as a support. The latter officer advanced with a part of his brigade toward the plaza of Monterey, and being reinforced by Henderson's Texan riflemen, who had dismounted, and were now in their element, a new—but not an entirely untried—system of assault was adopted. Entering the stone houses on the skirts of the city, where they were sheltered from the enemy's fire, the assailants dug through the walls of the houses,* and forced their way in this manner from house

* This mode of assault had been practiced by the Texans as early as 1835, when General Cos was besieged at Bexar; on that occasion, the Texans forced their way within gun-shot of the enemy, digging a pas-

to house and square to square, until they reached a street but a short distance from the plaza, where the Mexican troops had been driven.

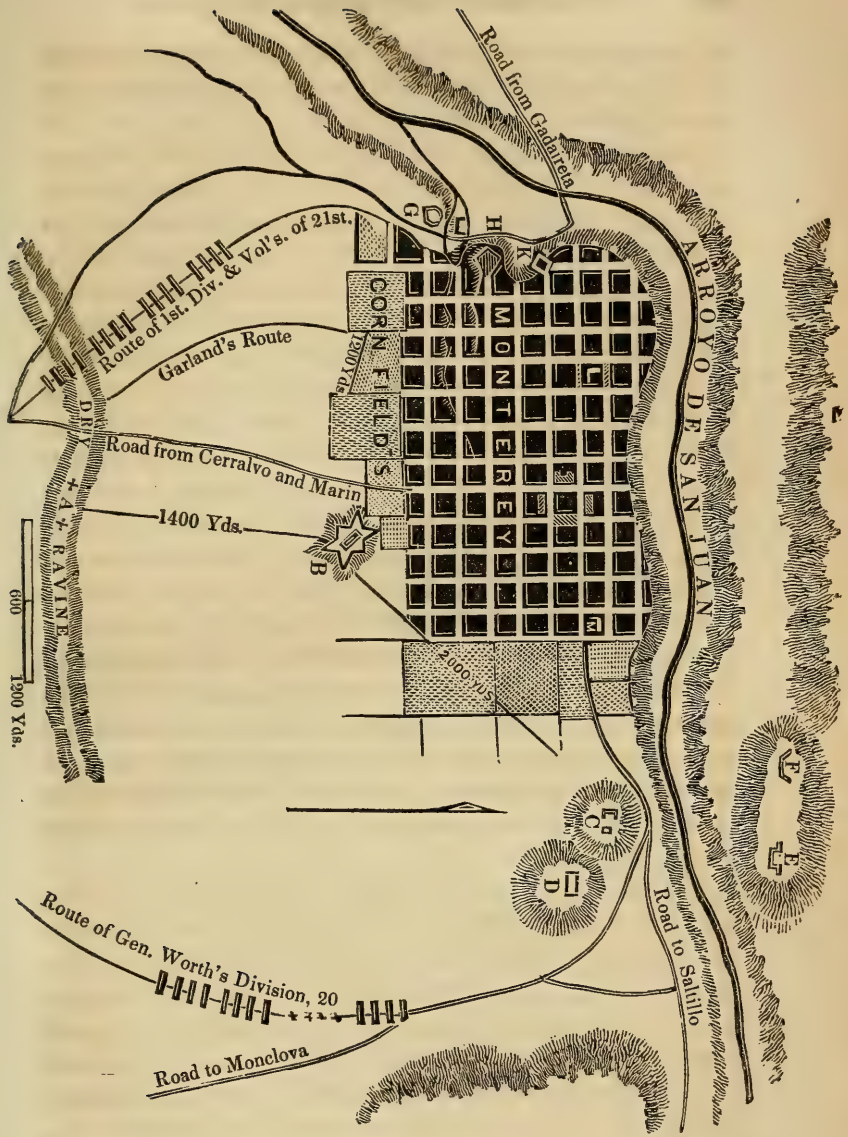
Bragg's artillery had also entered the place, and supported by the third infantry did good execution on the buildings in the direction of the square. Ampudia had been forced to withdraw his troops from the works on the upper part of the city, where Worth's division had succeeded in gaining a position within no great distance of the plaza. The mortar having been sent to this general early in the day, he planted it in the cemetery, and committed great havoc with the shell thrown into the centre of the town. Such was the injury sustained by the besieged, that the Mexican officers requested Ampudia to offer terms to the assailants, as the only mode of saving the lives of the troops, and the city from destruction;* the damage already received by the garrison had disheartened them, while the rapid progress made by the attacking parties, through the walls of the houses, filled them with astonishment. The inhabitants also joined in this request, and Ampudia, considering that the only way left him to make an impression on the besiegers was by the bayonet—a weapon almost useless in the hands of a Mexican soldier—was not indisposed to yield to the combined solicitations of the civil and military chiefs.

At noon, on the 23d, while the several forces were hotly engaged, General Taylor received a flag from the town, the bearer of which delivered to him a communication from Don Francisco de P. Morales, the governor of the department of Nueva Leon, requesting him to allow the resident families to remove from the scene of the conflict, which was every moment becoming more fierce and sanguinary.

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sage from house to house, while the hostile shot passed harmlessly onward, or rebounded from the stone walls.

† General Ampudia's Dispatch, September 25th, 1846.



STORMING OF MONTEREY.—PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

A, American Battery.
B, Cathedral Fort, or Citadel.
C, Bishop's Palace,
D, Heights above it.
E,F. Forts opposite side of the River.
G, First Fort.
H, Second Fort.
K, Third Fort—covering the Cadaireta Road
L, Main Plaza.
M, Cemetery.

The American commander regarding this as an evidence of the enemy's weakness, deemed it his duty to refuse this demand, as it was well known that a great portion of the women and children had retired from the place before the siege began. The contest was continued during the remainder of the day, both parties firing steadily all the time; the Mexicans from the citadel and plaza, and their adversaries from several different points.

Ampudia, conceiving that it would be useless to hold out against a foe who had already taken a large portion of the city, wisely resolved to yield while it was yet time to obtain honorable terms; although it was still in his power to make a desperate defence, and to sell the occupation of Monterey at a price which would more than compensate for its surrender. Urged by these considerations, Ampudia addressed a communication to the American leader, at nine o'clock, P. M., on the night of the 23d, which the latter received by the hands of Colonel Moreno, early on the following morning. The communication was as follows:

"General: As I have made all the defence of which I believe this city capable, I have fulfilled my obligation, and done all required by that military honor which, to a certain degree, is common to all the armies of the civilized world. And as a continuation of the defence would only bring upon the population distresses to which they have already been subjected by the evils consequent upon war, and believing that the American government will appreciate those sentiments, I propose to your excellency to evacuate the city and citadel, taking with me the *personel* and *materiel* of war which is left; and under the assurance that no prosecution shall be undertaken against the citizens who have taken part in the defence."

To this General Taylor replied:

"In answer to your proposition to evacuate the city and fort with all the *personel* and *materiel* of war, I have to state that my duty compels me to decline acceding to it. A complete surrender of the town and garrison, the latter as prisoners of war, is now de-

manded. But such surrender will be upon terms; and the gallant defence of the place, creditable alike to the Mexican troops and nation, will prompt me to make those terms as liberal as possible. The garrison will be allowed, at your option, after laying down its arms, to retire to the interior, on condition of not serving again during the war, or until regularly exchanged. I need hardly say that the rights of non-combatants will be respected."

An answer to this demand was required by twelve o'clock that day; before that hour General Ampudia signified a desire for a personal interview with the commander-in-chief, for the purpose of making some final arrangement. This being assented to, a conference was held by the two Generals; during which Ampudia endeavored to conceal his feelings under a show of bravado. Assuming a confident air, he told his adversary that, although his forces, had suffered, he was in no way straitened, and reiterated his demand of being allowed to depart with his army unmolested. General Taylor refused; and, becoming impatient, exclaimed: "Sir, I hold your army in the hollow of my hand, and you know it; the conference is closed. In thirty minutes you shall hear from my batteries."

This decisive declaration had the desired effect, and commissioners were immediately appointed on both sides, to draw up the articles of agreement regulating the withdrawal of the Mexican troops, and a suspension of hostilities, until the parties should hear from their respective governments. General Taylor appointed for this responsible service Brigadier-General Worth, Governor Henderson, of Texas, and Colonel Jefferson Davis, of the Mississippi corps of riflemen. Ampudia named General Tomas Requena, of the artillery, Don Manuel M. Llano, and General Ortega, as commissioners upon the part of Mexico; all of whom were honorable, intelligent men, and reputable commanders, who were acquainted with their duty, and performed it to the best of their ability.

In the afternoon, the officers entered upon their duties, and finally agreed upon the following terms :

"ARTICLE 1. As the legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, it is agreed that the city, the fortifications, cannon, the munitions of war, and all other public property, with the undermentioned exceptions, be surrendered to the commanding General of the United States' forces now at Monterey.

"ART. 2. That the Mexican forces be allowed to retain the following arms, to wit: the commissioned officers their side-arms, the infantry their arms and accoutrements, the cavalry their arms and accoutrements, and the artillery one field battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-one rounds of ammunition.

"ART. 3. That the Mexican armed forces retire, within seven days from this date, beyond the line formed by the pass of the Rinconada, the city of Linares, and San Fernando de Presas.

"ART. 4. That the citadel of Monterey be evacuated by the Mexican and occupied by the American forces to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

"ART. 5. To avoid collision and for mutual convenience, that the troops of the United States will not occupy the city until the Mexican forces have withdrawn, except for hospital and storage purposes.

"ART. 6. That the forces of the United States will not advance beyond the line specified in the 3d article before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the orders or instructions of the respective governments can be received.

"ART. 7. That the public property to be delivered shall be turned over and received by officers appointed by the commanding generals of the two armies.

"ART. 8. That all doubts as to the meaning of any of the preceding articles shall be solved by an equitable construction, and on principles of liberality to the retiring army.

"ART. 9. That the Mexican flag, when struck at the citadel, may be saluted by its own battery.

"Done at Monterey, September 24, 1846."

W. J. WORTH, Brigadier-General United States' Army.
J. PINKNEY HENDERSON, Major-Gen. Com. Texan Volunteers.
JEFF. DAVIS, Colonel Mississippi Riflemen.
MANUEL M. LLANO. T. REQUENA. ORTEGA.

Approved: Z. TAYLOR, Major-General U. S. A. Commanding.
PEDRO AMPUDIA.

These terms, which were alike honorable to the brave and distinguished officers on both sides, were fortunately approved by the commanding Generals of the respective forces, and Monterey ceased to be under the rule of the enemy. The gallant manner in which the place had been defended, and the fact that a recent change of government in Mexico, believed to be favorable to the interests of peace, had occurred, induced the American leader to concur with the commission, although the terms were less rigorous than those first imposed.* Had he acted otherwise, the probability is, that much blood would have been shed in the attempt to hold the city, which was untenable so long as the citadel remained in the hands of the Mexicans. To reduce that stronghold, would have cost the lives of hundreds; for it would have been necessary to take it by storm, there being but one mortar in the camp, and no entrenching implements essential for its reduction in the ordinary way. Moreover, the army was at a great distance from its supplies, and too inadequately supplied with the means of transportation to pursue the enemy, had he chosen to fly, which he could have done at any moment. It was also the opinion of the American commissioners, and of General Taylor, that the terms would meet the approbation of their government, liberal as they were.†

The American army at the time of the surrender had not more than ten days' provisions; they were nearly a hundred and eighty miles from the depots on the Rio Grande, and had but a small number of wagons necessary to transport the supplies through the mountain passes. The considerations of humanity were not lost sight of by the commissioners and the commanding General, and out-

* Taylor's Dispatch, September 25th, 1846.

† Vide the letters of Generals Worth, Henderson, and Colonel Davis, on this subject.

weighed in the mind of the latter personage the possible advantages which might be obtained by the continuance of the struggle. In his conference with Ampudia, he was informed by him, that his object in requesting the interview was to avoid the shedding of any more blood; and that General Santa Anna, having returned to his country and to power, had declared himself in favor of peace.* Believing this to be so, the American commander, who was not unaware of the overtures which his government had made to Mexico, was the more readily induced to approve of the terms of capitulation.

The Mexican army evacuated the town and defences within the specified time, and the 1st division under Worth entered and took possession of it. Ampudia retired beyond the pass of Rinconada, where he did not remain, but continued his march to Saltillo seventy-five miles distant. When the victors entered the captured city, they were surprised at its strength, and the efforts which had been made to repel their advance. In the cathedral, which had been converted by the besieged into a magazine, was an immense quantity of powder, which had been exposed to the shells thrown toward the conspicuous building in which it was stored. Had this mass of ammunition been set fire to by the bombs, the destruction which would have inevitably followed its explosion would have been tremendous, not only among the belligerents, but among the inhabitants—the women, children, and non-combatants, who yet remained in the place.

The American loss during the siege of Monterey, was one hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred and sixty-eight wounded.† The Mexican loss was never ascertained; it was estimated at some one or two thousand; the hospitals were found filled with their wounded, who

* See General Taylor's Dispatch, November 8th, 1846.

† Ibid. Oct. 9th.

were left to the care of the invaders.* Among those killed in the army of occupation, were several valuable officers. Major Barbour, Captains Field, Morris, and Gillespie, Lieutenants Woods and Hazlett, and Colonel Watson of the Baltimore battalion, fell at the head of their men upon the field of battle. The American forces remained at Monterey, waiting for the arrival of supplies, and the vehicles and animals necessary for their transportation.

It was undoubtedly an act of wisdom upon the part of the commanding General to accept of the armistice under these circumstances, inasmuch as it prevented the enemy from attacking his troops, who could not have moved in force in any direction, for the reasons above referred to.† Possibly, had hostilities been continued, the enemy, under Santa Anna, might have advanced from San Luis Potosi, and succeeded in driving the diminished forces of his adversary into the town of Monterey, where, from the want of food, if not from the overwhelming numbers of the assailants, the six thousand men under Taylor would have been compelled to yield as prisoners of war. Had this happened, the *prestige* of victory, so essential to the success of warlike enterprises, would have been broken; and dishonor, shame, and defeat would have crowned the march into Mexico.

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* Ampudia's Manifesto, Sept. 26th, 1846.

† General Taylor's Dispatch, October 9th, 1846.

CHAPTER VI.

Re-establishment of the Federal Constitution — Overtures of the United States for peace — Santa Anna invited to assume the Supreme Power — His Reply — His reception at the Capital — His efforts to raise an Army — Organization of the Mexican Army — Regulars and Militia — Ranchero Cavalry — Santa Anna arrives at San Luis — Ampudia evacuates Saltillo — General Worth advances to Saltillo — March of Wool's Division — He is compelled to alter his course at Santa Rosa — Monclova — Parras — The Mexicans abandon Tampico — Its occupation by the Americans — Commodore Perry attacks Tobasco — March to Victoria — Retreat of the Mexicans — Occupation of the City — Distress of the Mexican Government — Circular to the several States.

The republican party having once more obtained the ascendency in Mexico, the friends of rational freedom throughout the republic rallied to the support of the new-born dynasty, and the distinguished chief who was identified with the late triumphant revolution. On the 22d of August, the Supreme Executive issued a decree, proclaiming the re-establishment of the constitution of 1824, the dissolution of the departmental assemblies, and the reorganization of the several departments into sovereign, independent states. Previous to this, General Salas had summoned a congress to meet at the capital on the 6th day of the ensuing December; a circular had also been addressed to the different governors of the departments, commanding them to prevent any attempts that might be made by public functionaries to interfere in the election of representatives; on the contrary, the citizens were to be

permitted to exercise the most absolute and uncontrolled liberty in electing such persons as they deemed worthy of their confidence. If any one was found guilty of interfering in this matter, they were to be punished, whatever his rank or station, with a fine of not less than one hundred, and not more than five hundred dollars; or if the transgression merited still greater severity, the author was to be dealt with in conformity with the laws of the land.*

The promulgation of these decrees produced a very beneficial effect upon the minds of the intelligent classes of the people, who united to quell the turbulent spirit which animated the lower orders; and if their efforts were not entirely successful, neither were they altogether useless. It was toward Santa Anna, however, that all eyes were turned, as upon some mighty magician, who had been mysteriously vested with the power of removing the burthens under which the nation had been struggling for so many years.

The President of the northern confederacy—who, if he had in any way been instrumental in bringing on the war, was now certainly anxious to see its close—had, in the mean time, tendered to Mexico more than once the alternative of an honorable peace, or the prosecution of a contest which would eventually despoil her of the means of national independence. But all attempts at reconciliation had been stubbornly rejected by Paredes, who was bent upon continuing the hostilities he had himself initiated, by sending Arista across the Del Norte. After the return of Santa Anna, these negotiations were renewed with the fond hope that the chief who had been allowed to pass unquestioned through the hostile fleet, would, out of gratitude, remember the favor he had received at the hands of his country's foe. But no such feeling was

* Circular of the Minister of Relations to the Governors of the different departments, August 12th, 1846.

manifest; and the Senor Rejon, in his reply to the American secretary, declined to assume the responsibility of acting in so important an affair without the concurrence of the constituent Congress, before which the overtures of the United States would be presented in the coming December; it being the fixed determination of the government of Mexico to do nothing of moment without consulting the wishes of the people through their representatives.

About the middle of September, Santa Anna yielded to the solicitations of Salas and his associates, and left the retirement of his hacienda to engage once again in the thankless duties of public life. Arriving at the village of Ayotla, twenty miles from the capital, on the 14th of September, he received a communication through General Almonte, from the provisional government, inviting him to assume the supreme executive power on the following day, which being the anniversary of that upon which Hidalgo had raised the "glorious cry at Dolores," had been selected to witness the celebration of the re-estabment of the federal constitution, and the *entree* of the illustrious chief into the capital.

To this flattering mark of respect Santa Anna replied, in an eloqucnt and patriotic manner, that he was penetrated with the deepest gratitude to find that his arrival at the city would be made to contribute to the solemnities of so great an occasion. That he had been called to command the armies of the republic by the voice of his fellow-citizens when he was living in exile; that he saw his country surrounded by imminent dangers, and obeyed the mandate. "I now see a terrible contest with a perfidious and daring enemy impending over her, in which the Mexican republic must reconquer the insignia of her glory, and a fortunate peace if victorious, or disappear from the face of the earth if so unhappy as to be defeated."* After this

* The whole of this letter will be found in the Appendix, XX.

declaration, which may be regarded as prophetic, and he that lives to the close of this century may witness its fulfillment, he continued: "I go at the head of the Mexican army —an army, the offspring of a free people; and I will fulfill my utmost duty in opposing the enemies of my country. Your excellency will perceive how great an error I should commit in assuming the supreme magistracy when my duties call me to the field; I should disgrace myself, if, when called to the post of danger, I should spring to that of power. The single motive of my heart is to offer to my compatriots the sacrifice of the blood which yet runs in my veins."

At noonday, on the 15th of September, the general-in-chief entered the city of the Montezumas, and was received by its inhabitants and those of the surrounding country in the most enthusiastic manner; he was hailed as their deliverer, who was returning in triumph from exile to the scene of his glory. Attended by a brilliant escort, and saluted by the swelling strains of martial music, the roar of ordnance, and *vivas* of the multitude, who eagerly pressed around him on all sides to obtain a view of his person, he crossed the great square through a passage lined with troops, and entered the portal of the national palace. He was greeted there by General Salas and the members of the government, *ad interim*, who regarding him as the only man who could terminate the sad divisions existing between the army and the people, hoped to obtain by his efforts the protection from the former which the condition of the latter demanded.

That night, the city was illuminated, the sky was lit up with innumerable rockets, and music, mirth, and revelry filled every quarter of the capital; the people forgot their misfortunes, the soldiery the late reverses which had sullied the lustre of the Mexican arms, and even the rabble, who had visited upon his head every malediction, now sought his smile by cringing before him for whose blood

they had so recently clamored. The nation is saved! was the universal cry; Santa Anna has returned,—*Viva la General, viva la Republica, mueran los Americanos, mueran los usurpadores!* resounded throughout the land, from the hot plains of Yucatan to the cold regions of the northern Sierra, startling the people from their apathy, and filling all hearts with hope and joyous anticipations of victory and revenge.

Without delay, the commander-in-chief and the provisional government, combining their energies, proceeded to raise, arm, and muster an army, powerful enough to meet the advancing columns of the north. Requisitions were immediately sent into every province for a certain number of men, amounting in the aggregate to thirty thousand, who were to be enrolled into the service as soon as possible. In order to facilitate the arming and equipping of this force, all duties upon military stores and munitions of war were declared to be suspended until further notice. By this wise arrangement, the Mexicans obtained a large supply of the material necessary to carry on their defensive operations, as vessels from abroad were constantly running the blockade, at Vera Cruz, Alvarado, Campeachy, and Tobasco. It may have been, that these vessels were allowed to pass, as their freight might furnish the enemy with the means of destroying each other during the existence of the "intestine divisions" which it was confidently believed would follow the return of Santa Anna. The requisitions of the supreme authorities were complied with in the larger cities and towns with alacrity, and a formidable number of men were soon placed at the disposal of the commanding-general.

The ordinary strength of the Mexican army was, according to the muster-rolls of the war office, about fifty thousand rank and file, a very large proportion being officers. The organization of the army was as follows:—artillery—three brigades of foot, one mounted, and five additional companies; engineer corps—one battalion of

sappers, which had usually been stationed at Matamoras, and one company occupying the citadel of Mexico; eight regiments of the line, or permanent infantry, of two battalions each, composed of eight companies, each company of one hundred and twelve officers and men; eight regiments of the line, or permanent cavalry, of two squadrons, each composed of two companies of three hundred and thirty-eight men and officers. In addition to the regular force, was the national militia, or active troops, as they were designated, who were liable to be called into service at any time, when they received pay. Of these, there were nine regiments of infantry, numbering sixteen thousand one hundred and twenty-eight men and officers; six regiments of cavalry, of four squadrons, each squadron of two companies.

This force was commanded by fourteen generals of division, twenty-six generals of brigade, one director-general of artillery, and, lastly, by the general-in-chief, whose staff consisted of a great number of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, adjutants, and lieutenants. It was seldom, however, that the actual number of men in active service exceeded twenty thousand, who were stationed at Vera Cruz, San Luis, Guadalaxara, the capital, and at various other points. There were also in the different presidios some twenty companies of cavalry, which had of late been engaged in a border warfare with the Texans. To these again may be added the ranchero cavalry of the north-eastern provinces, which, under the partisan leaders Canales and Carabajal, fought at Palo Alto and Resaca, and subsequently hung on the rear of the invading army, acting as spies, pickets, and scouts; they were excellent light horsemen, but from the want of discipline, and the habit of moving according to their own wills, they were of but little service in a general engagement, lacking both firmness and courage. They were generally armed with a long lance, and sometimes with a sword and carbine;

the lasso, made of horse-hair or bull's-hide, forms an indispensable part of the equipage of these banditti and assassins, who have commited more depredations upon the American troops than all the armies of Mexico. Officers and men have been taken when unarmed and defenceless, and slaughtered in the most cruel and barbarous manner by these cowardly auxiliaries, whose only object is plunder, and who are despised even by their own countrymen as disloyal, treacherous, and untrusty.

The usual mode of raising an army in Mexico is to send out a party of veterans, who seize upon a certain number of half-naked Indians among the mountains, or in the agricultural districts; these *recruits* are fastened to a long chain, and driven in this fashion to the different depots, where they are clothed, armed, drilled, and instructed in the use of arms. When men are scarce, the prisons are emptied of their vile contents, and the worst villains in the republic are called upon to volunteer for a specified term in proportion to the number of years for which they have been sentenced for punishment.* The *morale* of such an army, composed of this kind of material, must be, in the nature of things, extremely bad; desertion, insubordination, and licentiousness, pervade the ranks. The Mexican rapidly degenerates when he becomes a soldier, and if he was not a robber before he entered the service, he generally becomes one when he leaves it.

There is, however, one class of the troops who are in a measure free from these vices—old veterans who served in the Spanish line before the revolution, ancient followers of Santa Anna, Victoria, and Guerrero, who have lived so long in the barracks and camp, that it has become their home. These men never desert or mutiny, unless their pay is deferred, when they readily join in the pronunciamento which invariably follows an exhausted treasury.

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* Thompson, Kendall, Meyer, M. Duflot de Mofras.

Santa Anna was always a favorite with them, as he was careful to retain their good opinion by providing for their wants.

By the exercise of incessant labor, constant wakefulness, and invincible perseverance, the government succeeded in mustering an army, collecting means for its transportation to San Luis Potosi, and furnishing it with the supplies necessary for its existence. In addition to the regular force the militia were reorganized, and called out to serve in the garrisons, and to act as a reserve, if needed. While these preparations were going on, the news of the capitulation of Monterey arrived at the capital, and stimulated the authorities in their noble efforts to defend the country. Yet the intelligence was entirely unexpected, as the town was known to be stronger than any other place in Mexico, to be well fortified by art, and from its position among the mountains of the Sierra Madre, difficult to reach and hard to capture; it was indeed regarded as the key to the interior, which, once lost, would enable the enemy to throw forward his columns at his convenience. Yet when the particulars of the siege were known, the censure which had been heaped upon the brave defenders of the place were changed into praise, and Ampudia was received as a good servant of the republic, and an able general, by the commander-in-chief. The resistless onset of the Americans upon the batteries, the novel mode of advancing through the walls of the houses, and the destruction caused by the artillery, were deemed sufficient to justify the surrender of the town.

Santa Anna having at last concentrated a considerable force at San Luis, proceeded there in person, and reached that place on the 8th of October. Shortly afterwards, he was reinforced by the division of the north under Ampudia, whose rear-guard evacuated Saltillo on the 15th, and thus left it virtually in the hands of the invaders. The different portions of the *corps d' armee* assembled at San Luis were

subjected to a severe examination by the commanding-general, who broke up regiments and battalions, and reorganized them into new divisions. He also purged the army of such officers and men who had an evil reputation among their associates for licentiousness, rapacity, or cowardice. His exertions were indefatigable, and, occupied with but one great purpose, the Mexican leader never appeared to such advantage as when, struggling against a thousand difficulties, he was preparing to bring into the field an army—upon whose future deeds he had staked the destinies of his country.

The new levies were, as soon as they joined the forces, put under the hands of the drill-masters, who spared neither oaths nor blows to bring them into that automaton-like condition characteristic of the trained soldier. The greatest difficulty experienced by Santa Anna was that resulting from the poverty of the government; he had material enough, but was sorely pressed for the supplies necessary to keep his troops together—for food they could not dispense with; and as it would consume some months before he could trust his recruits in a contest with the victors of Palo Alto and Monterey, he was placed in a very uncomfortable position.

The acting Executive, General Salas, was devoted to the interests of the State; so was Almonte, the minister of war, and his colleagues, Gomez Farias, Rejon, and Lafragna—all of whom were able statesmen, and worthy sons of the republic; but from this source he could not expect any other than temporary relief, as the provisional authorities had determined to do nothing until the meeting of Congress. In this dilemma, the energetic chief put his talents to the stretch, and for some weeks succeeded in furnishing his men with the means of subsistence. At a subsequent period, when his forces were almost in a state of starvation, Santa Anna pledged his own private property for the payment of provisions, which he distributed

among the ranks of the destitute army with a liberal hand, the act of a truly noble and patriotic spirit, which, chastened by time and adversity, flung its vices to the winds, and blazed forth in its native splendor. No bad, corrupt heart could have been moved, under any circumstances, to do an action of this kind,—even by selfish ambition, the love of fame, or the hope of future reward. No such motive could have influenced Santa Anna, who knew his countrymen too well to trust those who had countenanced the slaughter of so many distinguished patriots, with whom gratitude existed only in name.

On the 13th of October, the American secretary of war instructed General Taylor to "give the requisite notice, that the armistice was to cease at once, and that each party was at liberty to resume and prosecute hostilities without restriction." In compliance with this order, the General dispatched Major Graham, on the 5th of November, to the enemy's lines with a communication, formally announcing the instructions he had received, and his determination of renewing the war by the 13th, feeling himself at perfect liberty to advance beyond Rinconada after that day. He also took this occasion to request of the Mexican leader the release of several prisoners, who had been captured and carried to San Luis.

Santa Anna immediately replied, by readily acquiescing in the proposition to abrogate the armistice; and stated, that he would willingly comply with General Taylor's demand, by releasing the captives, seven in number, who had been taken there for safe-keeping, directing the commissary of his army to furnish the men with seventy dollars, to pay their expenses upon the road.

In his letter, the American commander had remarked, that at the time he had entered into the convention with Ampudia, he had hoped that the terms in which it was conceived would open the way for an amicable and honorable adjustment of the difficulties between the two coun-

tries. In his answer of the 10th, Santa Anna said:—"Laying out of the question, as to whether that convention was the result of necessity, or of the noble sentiments now disclosed by you, I content myself with saying that, by the decision and spirit manifested by all Mexicans, you should banish every idea of peace, while a single North American, in *arms*, treads upon the soil of this republic."*

The forces under General Taylor cantoned at Monterey and encamped in the neighboring woods of San Domingo, had in the interval been employed in strengthening the defences of the city—keeping open the line of communication between that point and Camargo, and transporting supplies from the Rio Grande. The country now occupied by the army could furnish nothing for its support but corn and beef, which were paid for in cash the moment they were delivered; this policy was, under the circumstances, the best that could be pursued, as it conciliated the inhabitants and facilitated the operations of the invaders. The task of fighting and beating the enemy was among the least of the difficulties the Americans had to encounter; in a region so barren, they were compelled to regulate their movements by the quantity of supplies at their disposal. General Taylor had penetrated to Monterey with the same wagon-train with which he had left Corpus Christi seven months before, and he did not receive an addition to these until the 2d of November.†

On the 12th the second division, under General Worth, consisting of eight companies of artillery, two regiments of infantry, and one company of volunteers, supported by Duncan's battery of eight pieces, took up the line of march for Saltillo sixty-five miles distant. On the 13th the

* Vide Santa Anna's Letter to General Taylor, dated San Luis Potosi, November 10th, 1846.

† General Taylor's Dispatch, November 8th, 1846.

commander-in-chief followed with two squadrons of dragoons. While advancing upon that point, the General was met by a messenger from Don Jose Marie de Aguirre, the newly elected governor of the State of Coahuila, who placed in his hand a formal protest "against the government of the United States of the north, for the usurpation of the territory occupied by their arms—for the outrages and damages which should accrue to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the defenceless towns—for the injuries the public interests may suffer—and for all the evils consequent upon the most unjustifiable invasion ever known to the world."* Having rid himself of this, which had, doubtless, weighed grievously upon his mind, the governor of Coahuila retired from the capital, which was immediately occupied by the second division, without opposition. By this movement, the route from the low country to the table lands above, as well as the passage to Monclova, was covered by the troops, who were also placed within reach of a fertile district, abounding in bread stuffs and forage.

While Taylor was pushing forward his columns in this direction, Brigadier-General Wool left San Antonio de Bexar, in September, at the head of a force two thousand four hundred strong, composed of the Illinois, Arkansas, and Kentucky troops, which were commanded by colonels Yell, Hardin, Bissell, and Humphrey Marshall. A large portion of these were cavalry; there was also a battalion of regular artillery, and a train of six field-pieces accompanying the expedition. Crossing the great plains between Bexar and the Rio Grande, the column passed that river at the Presidio del Norte, and advanced in the direction of Chihuahua, the designated point of attack.

After suffering much from long and fatiguing marches through a strange and to them unknown region, the troops

* Protest of the Governor of Coahuila, Saltillo, Nov. 16th, 1846.

reached Santa Rosa, where their progress was abruptly checked by the Sierra Gorda, a range of mountains which here rise to an altitude of nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the plain, without a single pass or defile leading over it.* The column was, therefore, compelled to turn to the southward in search of a road to Chihuahua. Skirting the entire base of the Sierra, its progress was slow and difficult, and it was not until the 29th of October it reached Monclova.

As Wool approached, the prefect of the city issued a formal protest against the occupation of the country, after which he came out to the camp, attended by an escort of *caballeros* arrayed in the picturesque dress of the province, with ponderous spurs hanging to their heels, and gayly colored mantles from their shoulders; mounted upon showy animals the party made a dashing appearance. They were received courteously by the General, and during the month he remained in the vicinity of Monclova, no feeling of animosity was apparent in the intercourse mutually cultivated by the troops and the natives. At Parras, a few weeks later, a still more friendly feeling was visible, several sick soldiers were taken into the houses of some of the first people of the place and carefully nursed by the ladies of the family.

At these places no robbery, or oppression of timorous defenceless inhabitants was permitted by the commanding officers; the provisions furnished to the army were promptly paid for, and in all respects the former were the gainers by the occupation of their territory by the American forces. Never had this part of Coahuila been so well guarded against the prowling savage, or merciless bandit; the roads were cleared of the last, and the fierce Indian of the wilderness fled at the sound of the cavalry bugles.

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* Vide the report of Captain Hughes, Topographical Engineer, Feb. 14th, 1847.

During this period men could travel from their haciendas to the city with some hope of returning safely, a feeling entirely unknown to them for some months previous.

As there was no practicable route to Chihuahua from the east, except by the way of Parras, which would bring his column within a few leagues of Saltillo, Wool halted at Monclova until he received orders from General Taylor; inquiring, sensibly enough, "What is to be gained by going to Chihuahua?"

It was the policy of the United States, at this juncture, to take possession of as much of the Mexican territory as possible, in order that the Congress, before which the propositions for a pacification were to be laid, would be more readily induced to accept of the proffered terms. In order to do this effectually an expedition was planned against Tampico and Vera Cruz; the movement upon the former being intended as a feint to cover the design against the latter.

The Mexican government, conscious of its inability to garrison and fortify the mouth of the Panuco, had withdrawn the few troops which had been stationed there, on the 27th of October, leaving the place in a defenceless condition. On the 14th of November, Commodore Perry, then commanding the naval forces in the Gulf, took possession of Tampico, and made a requisition for a sufficient number of men to hold the place. Toward the close of the month, several companies of regulars and volunteers with a supply of ordinance and munitions were safely landed at the town, and its defences being repaired and new works erected, it was soon placed in a state to bid defiance to any attack the enemy might make upon it. A few weeks before this, Commodore Perry had entered the river Tobasco with a squadron of six vessels, and ascending it to the city of Tobasco, anchored opposite the town and summoned it to surrender, on the evening of the 25th of October.

The place was garrisoned by three hundred regular troops, and a large number of militia who had assembled at the approach of the hostile fleet. The Governor refused to give up the town, and Perry commenced the conflict by firing into the soldiers' quarters and the fort. One of the first shots striking the flag-staff, the Mexican colors fell to the ground, which for a time caused the assailants to believe that the city had surrendered.

On the 26th the enemy opened a sharp fire of musketry upon the ships, which was answered by the cannon of the latter, every discharge of which produced much injury upon the houses. The people of Tobasco urged the Governor to submit to their powerful adversary, but he sternly refused; he, however, permitted them to raise a white flag and to send a communication to the fleet praying the Commodore to spare the town; he replied by promising to do so, observing that he only desired to fight the soldiers. A detachment of eighteen men having landed near the place they were attacked by a superior force, and after a brisk action of half-an-hour the Mexicans were driven back, the other party losing one man killed and two wounded. Lieutenant Morris was also mortally wounded while passing the enemy's fire, in an effort to communicate with those on shore. The cannonading from the vessels was now renewed with energy, and in the course of an hour Tobasco was nearly demolished; the houses of the foreign residents and consuls being uninjured, as well as those which appeared to be occupied by non-combatants. The Governor answered the fire from a battery of four pieces, which however did no great execution. At midnight the squadron hoisted their anchors; as the ships dropped down the stream and passed the city, a broadside and a volley of musketry were poured into the streets, "sweeping them of every living thing."

The object of the expedition had been to capture a number of vessels which had taken refuge in the river;

the prizes taken, consisting of one brig, two steamers, five schooners, one sloop and several smaller craft were, with the exception of one, which was burned, carried safely to Anton Lizardo, the rendezvous of the fleet on the coast of Vera Cruz.

In order that the whole state of Tamaulipas should be under the control of the army, General Taylor ordered General Wool to abandon all idea of proceeding to Chihuahua, and to advance with his column to Parras; which movement was effected with such celerity and caution that Bonneville's battalion, which led the march, was often mistaken by the inhabitants for a party of those hostile savages who had so often desolated these beautiful regions.

The next operation was against Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, which is situated between Monterey and Tampico; in the vicinity of the former place, General Urrea was believed to be at the head of a division acting as a corps of observation.

On the 17th, the different regiments designed for the occupation of Victoria formed a junction at Montemorelos, sixty-eight miles from Monterey; that evening an express arrived from Saltillo informing the commander-in-chief that Santa Anna was about to take advantage of the scattered condition of the troops at that crisis, by making a sudden attack upon the latter city, and upon the position of General Wool at Parras. This intelligence altered the original plan which had been laid down; Quitman's brigade, supported by a field battery, was ordered to continue the route to Victoria, where it was expected that a division of volunteers under General Patterson, then on the march, would join them. Taylor himself returned with the regular troops to his old camp, and was hastening on to Worth's relief at Saltillo, when he learned from that officer that he had been reinforced by the early arrival of Wool's

column, and that the enemy, instead of advancing, had recalled some of his parties of observation.

General Quitman's command arrived at Victoria on the 29th of December; there was in the town a body of fifteen hundred cavalry, which retreated as the invaders approached, leaving them to take quiet possession of it without striking a blow in its defence, although from the careless manner in which the volunteers conducted themselves, no better opportunity could have offered itself for an attack. The Mexicans fell back to Jaumave, on the road towards Tula, where a strong force under General Valencia was encamped.

While these events were passing in the north, the Mexican government was straining every nerve to meet the exigencies of the times, which were every hour assuming a darker aspect. The energetic efforts of President Salas and Santa Anna had produced much good, the public spirit had been awakened, confidence had, in a measure, been restored between the nation and the supreme authorities, and a formidable army had been brought into the field; but still more remained to be done, the public exchequer was empty, the ordinary channels through which the state derived its resources were closed, and could not be opened until the war should terminate; never had Mexico been so impoverished since the conquest.

Under these distressing circumstances the government resolved to make a last appeal to the several states composing the confederacy, to whom it had restored the blessings of civil liberty and equal laws, when they were about to be swept away by the machinations of the aristocratic and monarchical factions. Contributions of various sums had been furnished by some of the departments, but not in amounts commensurate with their means, or the necessity of the demand.

On the 27th of November, the Senor Lafragna, then

acting as minister of relations, addressed a circular to the governors of the states, calling upon them in the sacred name of their country to come to the aid of the administration and the army, for the hour had arrived which was to decide the future destiny of Mexico—her religion, her manners, language, even her very existence as a nation, hung upon the issue of the struggle she was then engaged in with the people of the north. Between glory and shame there was no mean to choose, the enemy must be driven from the country, or the generous race of the south must yield to the invader, who already occupied Tamaulipas, Nueva Leon, Santa Fe, Coahuila and the Californias, and was pushing his arms toward the interior as rapidly as circumstances would permit him. The Congress about to assemble could, if so disposed, make peace, but the Executive had absolutely determined that the name of Mexico should be erased from the catalogue of nations by the edge of the American sword, before her infamy should be inscribed upon the face of a shameful treaty.*

"That proud confederacy," continued the minister, "whose government insults, with its acts, the ashes of Washington; that population—which is composed in part of avaricious merchants, for whom all grand ideas, all generous thoughts are subordinate to self-interest; those pretended democratic states, who excommunicate all who have a single drop of the blood which the whites would consider distinct from their own, and who traffic unworthily in the creatures of God, are likewise risking their existence in this war—for they have in their bosom a thousand conflicting elements."

This appeal to the patriotism of the nation fell unnoticed upon the ears of the people and the local authorities, who had positively nothing to give in the shape of money, the precious metals having been drawn from the country

* See Appendix, XXI.

by foreign creditors, the national mint was closed, and the late civil commotions and existing war had paralyzed the operations of the mining companies. The only gold and silver that was visible to the senses, was to be seen in the gorgeous cathedrals and churches, where the priests who ministered at the altar dazzled the eyes of the multitude with the magnificent display of massive plate and jewels, which the piety of a former age had dedicated to holy uses.

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the Federal Congress — Election of Santa Anna and Gomez Farias — Rejection of the Pacific Overtures of the United States — Law confiscating the Property of the Church — Protest of the Clergy — Administration of Farias — Policy of the Clergy — Massacre of Governor Bent in New Mexico — Battles of Canada and El Embudo — Occupation of El Paso — Battle of Sacramento — California — Santa Anna's advance upon Saltillo — Capture of Major Gaines — The Pass of Angostura — Battle of Buena Vista — Retreat of the Mexicans — General Scott — Preparations for the reduction of Vera Cruz — Landing of the Americans — Investment, bombardment, and capture of the City and Castle.

The Mexican Congress assembled at the capital in the early part of December, 1846, under the old constitution; it was composed of a better class of citizens than those who had formerly represented the nation in the halls of the national palace, toward whom all men now gazed, in the hope that through their exertions the misfortunes which had lately fallen upon Mexico would be alleviated, and that she would emerge bright and glorious from the darkness which now spread over the land.

The deputies, who had been elected by the people, were nearly all staunch republicans, men who had been distinguished for their persevering opposition to the central system, and who had suffered, in consequence, persecution, and much injury, from the different administrations which had recently cursed the country. By the death of the archbishop, and the fall of Paredes, who had been

permitted to retire from the republic, the monarchical faction had been crushed; and those leaders who had espoused its principles had been taught to respect the will of the nation as the supreme law, and they carried with them into the obscurity of private life, to which they had been compelled to retire, the humiliating recollection of having, in attempting the destruction of liberty, re-established, instead of a monarchy, a constitutional democracy.

One of the most important duties which devolved upon Congress, was that of appointing a chief magistrate, into whose hands the executive power could be safely entrusted. The friends of Santa Anna advocated his claims to that dignity, in the warmest manner; while those of Gomez Farias boldly asserted that he had acquired a right to the office by his long and disinterested exertions in behalf of the sacred principles of freedom; General Salas, also, had his partisans, who, referring with pride to the events of the last few months, demanded of their colleagues that he should be continued in the high station he had so worthily occupied since the late revolution.

After a great deal of unnecessary delay, the question was disposed of by Santa Anna being elected Provisional President, and Gomez Farias Vice-President of the republic, on the 23d of December. Farias was to perform the duties of the Executive department, while the former was to remain at the head of the army, until the invaders had been driven from the Mexican territory, when he would assume his position at the head of the government. In his letter to the minister of relations, announcing his acceptance of the honor which had been conferred upon him, Santa Anna expressed his gratitude to the legislative body for the reparation which they had made him for the injuries he had received from those, who, acting in the name of the nation, had driven him into exile: "I have reflected much whether I should accept the office, which, for the fifth time in the course of my life, has been bestowed upon me; but

at last overcoming my natural repugnance,—stifling within my breast considerations of a private nature which influenced me, and, more than all, convinced that my fellow-citizens will not do me the injustice to believe that I returned from *ostracism* to repossess myself of power, I have resolved upon the sacrifice; for there is nothing which I am not prepared to do in obedience to my beloved country. My refusal would complicate our difficulties, by presenting a new electoral crisis, which would be perilous to the holy cause we are sustaining, against the morbid ambition of the United States of America."*

Gomez Farias, in his inaugural message to the Congress, briefly stated the outlines of the policy he intended to pursue; he promised equal protection to the different branches of industry, a scrupulous observance of the laws and constitution, and finally, that the war should be prosecuted with untiring energy, until the national territory should be evacuated by the armies of the northern confederacy. The President of the Senate, in his reply, declared the country to be in danger, but expressed the confidence of the nation and of the legislature in the sincerity and wisdom of the Executive, whose firmness and integrity would not fail to bring to a favorable issue the ample and judicious plans which had been proposed for the public good.

In the oath which was administered to the Vice-President, he solemnly promised to maintain the constitution of 1824, the independence of the nation, and the integrity of the national domain. The last part of the official oath was added in order to prevent the cession of any portion of the country then in the hands of the Americans. The overtures of the government of the States for peace had been at an early period submitted to the consideration of the deputies, who unanimously rejected the terms, as utterly incompatible

* Vide Santa Anna's Letter, San Luis, Dec. 27th, 1846.

with the interests, dignity, and honor of the Mexican Republic. No treaty, no pacification while the enemy remains within the confines of Mexico, was the universal sentiment among the members of both houses.

The declarations contained in the messages of the President of the United States, aroused the anger of the more violent senators, and it was even proposed to issue a formal protest against the "false and injurious imputations" set forth in those documents. The subject was seriously discussed, but was not adopted, because upon examination it was ascertained that, however disrespectful or objectionable the language of the messages, the facts contained therein were true and could not be controverted; the proposition was in consequence very wisely abandoned.

Having disposed of these urgent affairs, Congress now proceeded to consider the great question of the session; this was the condition of the national finances; a matter which admitted of no further delay, involving as it did, not only the stability of the present system of government, but the very existence of the republic itself, in its original integrity. Various ingenious schemes were brought forward to replenish the exchequer, debates innumerable followed but no money could be obtained; it was but too apparent that the Mexican nation was bankrupt, and unless some means of relief were speedily devised, the operations of the government must cease, the army be disbanded, and the country given up to the invaders; yet no ordinary mode of raising supplies could meet the extraordinary emergency. It would require more than ten millions of dollars to carry on the war, a sum which could only be obtained by resorting to an expedient which had already been ineffectually attempted by the preceding administration. This was to appropriate a portion of the property of the church for the benefit of the nation. This project was warmly supported by Gomez

Farias and his democratic adherents in Congress; the former had advocated a similar measure in 1835, and had in consequence incurred the hatred of the clergy, who compelled him to fly for his life.

On the night of the 7th of January, 1847, a bill was introduced into Congress, authorizing the government to raise fifteen millions of dollars for the purpose of carrying on the war with the United States, the money to be procured by the sale or mortgage of the real estate then in possession of the Mexican church. At an early hour on the following morning the debates upon this important subject commenced, and were continued until evening. Those who opposed the scheme, blinded by bigotry and superstition, looked with horror upon the proposition, as one which would draw down the vengeance of heaven upon the already afflicted land—as a deed of wanton sacrilege which no exigency could extenuate. The advocates of the measure asserted that it was not designed to injure the church, or to impair its usefulness; that the vast estates in question were a part of the national property, the gift of individuals to the nation, to be used for its benefit in just such an emergency as the present, when the country was threatened with destruction; that the clergy had been entrusted with this wealth in order that it might be husbanded until the necessities of the state required that it should be appropriated for the general good, and that there was no sacrilege, no violation of the principles of justice in making use of the national property for the preservation of the nation. It was also declared that the church and state being closely united, the fall of one would necessarily involve the other in its ruin, and that in fact the ecclesiastical wealth would be employed with as much advantage to the former as to the latter. At seven o'clock the Vicar General of Mexico sent in a protest against the bill, which was read to the chambers, after which the discussion of the question was resumed, and an

exciting debate ensued, which was kept up until a late hour of the night.*

The opposition was led by the Senor Otero, who spoke vehemently against it, as a scheme calculated to destroy the religion of the country, by depriving it of the means of support, which had been granted to the ecclesiastical establishment for the maintenance and promulgation of the holy faith, and for no other purpose. Senor Canas, a prominent federalist, replied, by reiterating the arguments which had been used by his colleagues, and presenting the alternative of an honorable resistance, or a disgraceful surrender of the country to the Americans—upon whose heads the sacrilegious crime, if there was one, would rest—he demanded the votes of the deputies in favor of the only measure that could save the republic.

The question being put to a final vote, forty-four members voted in the affirmative, and thirty-five in the negative; the bill passing by a bare majority of nine.* The decree was approved by the President, and on the following day was promulgated. The clergy in the capital had anxiously watched the proceedings of the legislative body during the discussion of this interesting subject and had employed every means in their power to defeat the scheme; and had it not been hurried through the chambers, it is more than probable that they would have succeeded in putting it down. On the 10th of the same month, the archbishop's chapter issued a formal protest against the law, as violating the fundamental principles of the church, this document was as follows:

"*Protest of the venerable Archbishop's Chapter against the taking possession of the church property.*

"This chapter having been informed from an undoubted source, that the sovereign Congress have this morning approved of an act for the taking possession of the church property, without losing a

* Diario Official del Gobierno, Mexico, January 9th, 1847.

moment for the preservation of those sacred rights charged upon them by the solemn canons of the church, have determined to direct to your excellency this communication, with the object of making known that they cannot in any manner coincide with the measure entertained in the above-named act, not daring to incur the ecclesiastical censures and penalties emitted at the end of the 11th chapter of the 22d session of the Sacred Council of Trent, and reiterated in the third Mexican; and in consequence they hereby enter the most solemn protest against the act now about to be sanctioned, only expecting from the piety of the supreme government, that the aforenamed disposition of the Sacred Council of Trent, which comprehends all, whatever may be the dignity invested in them, and which inflicts the highest punishment upon those who disregard it, may be fully respected; obeying likewise the fundamental law now reigning through the republic, which guarantees the property of our ecclesiastical corporations.

"May it please your excellency to make known to the most excellent Senor Vice-President, that these are the sentiments entertained by this archbishop's chapter.

"We present to your excellency the assurances of our distinguished consideration and esteem. God guard you many years.

"Hall of the Sacred Church of the archbishop's chapter of Mexico, January 10th, 1847, 12 o'clock M."

FELIX OSORES,
FELIX GARCIA SERALE,
JOSE M. GUZMAN,
JOSE M. VASQUEZ.

To the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

This opposition upon the part of the clergy extended throughout the country; the declarations of the Council of Trent were quoted as infallible authority, notwithstanding the fact, that eight venerable prelates and nine doctors of theology, sent by Spain to that assembly, had been accused of heresy and other crimes by the tribunal of the Inquisition.* The priesthood denounced the government, as

* Llorente's History of the Inquisition, chap. xxix.

favoring the cause of the enemies of the faith, by passing the act of confiscation, and a great excitement was created upon the subject among all classes of the people; the opposition to it was more violent in the cities and large towns than in the rural districts, religious establishments being more numerous in the former than in the latter. The protest of the archbishop's chapter was soon followed by others, from Puebla, Queretaro, and several of the interior states, the clergy using every art known to them to stir up the popular mind against Farias and his party. In this they partially succeeded; the officials charged with the duty of levying upon the ecclesiastical property, were assailed by the excited people, and forced to retire, without being able to execute their functions, and it was apparent that a revolution would follow an attempt to enforce a measure so odious to the priest-ridden multitude.

The Vice-President, however, was not to be intimidated by the threats of excommunication, or the turbulent hostility of the adherents of the church; he immediately applied himself with energy to the work he had so fearlessly commenced; he called to his aid the military, and conferred upon the officers extraordinary powers, in order that the decree should be carried into execution. He caused the leaders of the outbreak to be seized and thrown into prison; he did not even spare the "venerable clergy" themselves, when they were caught in the act of fomenting a rebellion against the constitutional authority.

Another difficulty now appeared, and threatened to render the law of confiscation abortive; the property which had been levied upon could not be disposed of for money; no one could be found who was willing to advance the required sums upon the estates, nor to purchase them at any reasonable rate. Such was the fear with which the denunciations of the ecclesiastics had inspired the capitalists, that they declined to expose themselves to the vindictive enmity of a class that

were known never to forgive an injury to the church. This motive did not deter the executive from persisting in his favorite measure, the seizures were continued at the point of the bayonet, in defiance of the unforeseen circumstances with which it was involved. The great error in regard to this affair was, that the forced contribution was to be collected from the sale of real estate; it should have been from the gold and silver plate, the rich adornments that glittered in heaps upon the altars of even the poorest chapel, and the priceless jewels that blazed upon innumerable shrines, or lay concealed in the coffers of the churches.

Compelled to yield to the strong arm of the government, the clergy resorted to an expedient more potent than open resistance, they determined to employ their spiritual power to protect their temporal wealth. The cathedrals and religious edifices were closed, the altars were robed in the habiliments of mourning—the accustomed ceremonies and exercises were suspended; no sacramental rite was administered, save to the sick and dying; marriages were unblessed, children unbaptized, and the souls of the dead were no longer prayed for during this dismal period of national calamity.

These proceedings—which in this country would have excited the derision of the people—penetrated every heart with profound sorrow; the multitude, deprived of one of their chief amusements,* cursed the government, while the more intelligent classes, who were constrained to acknowledge the necessity which had given rise to the unpopular decree, could not but feel the influence produced upon the minds of all by the events of the last few months.

This sad condition of things was increased by the public journals devoted to the interests of the clergy, they openly counselled rebellion against the Executive and the

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Religious Festivals.

constituent Congress, as the most effective method of defeating what they termed the sacrilegious attempt to despoil the ministers of Heaven of their sacred wealth.

The principal object in passing the act of confiscation, had been to obtain an immediate supply to carry on the war; the scheme had as yet scarcely brought a dollar into the treasury, and was therefore considered a failure by even those who advocated it in the chambers.

President Farias, though surrounded with insuperable difficulties, firmly pursued his policy, conscious of his good intentions, he cared but little for the applause or censure of his compatriots. His ministers were, however, not gifted with his devotion to the cause of liberty, or his consistency; they resigned in a body, toward the close of January, unable to contend with the accumulated evils, which were inseparable from the responsible offices they had held.

A new ministry was soon formed, of even better materials than the last; Rejon taking charge of the bureau of relations, Senor Francisco Suarez Iriarte, that of finances, while General Canalizo continued to hold the portfolio of war and marine.

The government of the United States having received no definite response to the pacific overtures which had been submitted three several times to the Mexican authorities, was now forced, in defence of its own policy, to prosecute the war with vigor.

In order to bring the enemy to terms, it was determined to consummate the design which had been formed for the reduction of Vera Cruz; it was first proposed to land a force of 4,000 men upon the coast; this arrangement not obtaining the approbation of General Taylor, who had been consulted upon the subject, and who gave it as his opinion that a descent should not be attempted with an army less than ten thousand strong, a more ample and judicious plan of operation was decided upon by the administration; it was now proposed to concentrate a large

force between Vera Cruz and the mouth of the Rio Grande, which was to land suddenly at some point near the city, which it was anticipated could be taken if the attack was unexpected. General Winfield Scott was selected to command the expedition, which was to be entirely disconnected with the movements of the army in the northern departments, under Taylor.

General Scott arrived at Brazos Santiago, about the 1st of January, and commenced his preparations with an energy which promised success; vessels were collected, troops were withdrawn from Saltillo, and the interior, and a portion of the forces destined for the expedition were dispatched to Tampico, under General Shields, so that they might be convenient to the contemplated point of attack. General Scott, soon after he landed at the Brazos, had endeavored to communicate with Taylor, then at Victoria waiting to hear from him; the officer selected to bear the dispatches was Lieutenant Richey of the 4th infantry: on the 14th of January the messenger, with his escort of ten dragoons, arrived at the town of Villa Grande. As he was crossing the public square, in company with an inhabitant of the place, a Mexican rode up to him and threw a lasso over his head; putting spurs to his horse, he instantly galloped off at full speed, dragging the body of his victim some distance. The miscreant then stripped the corpse of the unfortunate youth of the dispatches, which were highly important, as they related to the expedition then preparing against Vera Cruz; by this means Santa Anna became acquainted with the proposed plan of operations and acted upon his information accordingly.

On the 19th of January, a terrible massacre occurred in the vicinity of Santa Fe, in New Mexico; on that day, Charles Bent, the territorial governor, was seized, together with the sheriff, prefect, district-attorney, and two other persons, at the town of San Fernando de Taos, and butchered in cold blood, by a party of Mexicans, who had

conspired to regain possession of the country. On the same day, nine Americans were killed in the same manner by the savage populace. The revolt soon spread over the neighboring country, and, on the 20th, Colonel Stirling Price, who commanded the troops at Santa Fe, learned that a strong body of Mexicans and Indians were advancing upon that point; he immediately made preparations for battle, and on the 23d left the city, in search of the enemy, at the head of three hundred and fifty men, cavalry and infantry, supported by four pieces of artillery.

On the following day the division encountered the Mexicans, who were posted in a strong position on the heights, in front of the village of Canada, and in some houses at the bottom of the hills. A fire was immediately opened upon them from the cannon, which was answered by the enemy, and an action ensued, which continued for an hour and a half; at the end of which, Colonel Price ordered a general charge upon the houses, and the other points occupied by the foe, and in a few minutes they were dispersed in every direction. The Mexican force in this engagement was fifteen hundred men; their loss was thirty-six killed; the number of wounded was not ascertained, as they were carried off the field; the American loss was two killed and six wounded.* The next day, Price advanced up the Rio del Norte to Lanceros, where he was reinforced on the 28th by Captain Burgwin, with two companies of dragoons and a field-piece.

The division, now increased to four hundred and seventy men, rank and file, marched to La Joya, where it was learned that the enemy was posted in the pass of Embudo; the road being impracticable for artillery, Capt. Burgwin was ordered to march against them with a detachment of a hundred and eighty men. The position of the Mexicans was a remarkably strong one, in a deep

* Colonel Price's Dispatch, February 15th, 1847.

gorge of the mountains, where three men could scarcely march abreast; they were seven hundred in number, who occupied both sides of the steep and rugged hills. Throwing out flanking parties, Burgwin soon dislodged the adversary, who retired in the direction of Embudo with a speed which defied pursuit.* The detachment following the pass, entered the plain in which the town was situated; as he drew near the place, the inhabitants came out to meet it with a white flag; Embudo was taken possession of without resistance. The enemy's loss in this affair was twenty killed and sixty wounded; the American loss was one killed and one severely wounded.†

The subsequent operations of Colonel Price's command, as related by a prominent actor‡ in the conflicts, were equally successful:

"On the 1st and 2d of February, we crossed the Taos mountain on a road having from two to three feet of unbroken snow. On the 3d we entered the town of Don Fernando, where Governor Bent was murdered, and there learned that the enemy had fortified themselves in the Indian town. We immediately marched upon it, and found the enemy strongly posted in and about the church, or behind the surrounding wall. The six-pounder and one howitzer were opened on them. The wall was soon broken in several places by both shot and shells, and several of the latter bursted handsomely in the town. Our ammunition wagons, which had not been able to cross the mountain on the previous day, not having come up, we were compelled to return to Don Fernando to take up quarters for the night.

"Early on the morning of the 4th, we again appeared before the town, determined to take it; and, satisfied that we would have a hard and bloody fight, I established the

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* Price's Dispatch. † Ibid.

‡ Lieutenant A. B. Dyer, of the Ordnance.

six-pounder and two howitzers on the north side of the town, and about two hundred and fifty yards distant, so as to sweep the side of the church, which faced inwards; the other two were to the south-west, to sweep the front and give a cross fire on the town. A charge was soon ordered, and was made by Captain Burgwin, with his dragoons, and a company of volunteers in one line, and Captain Angney, with two companies of infantry and one of Price's regiment on another. A lodgment was made at the church, but nothing further could be done at that time, and our troops were exposed to a deadly fire—Captain Burgwin and a lieutenant of volunteers were soon carried off mortally wounded—four dragoons were dead, and a number of troops wounded. The church walls were so thick as to forbid all hope of breaching them with the ammunition we had with us, and so a part of the wall was cut away with axes, and finally a small hole was cut through; but our men being shot through it whenever they commenced cutting, the work was stopped, and I was directed to breach it. The six-pounder was run up within sixty yards, and we soon had, in that part of the wall which had been thinned, a breach large enough to admit four men abreast. Several shells, which I had recovered at Canada, were prepared and thrown in, the roof was fired, and the six-pounder run up within thirty feet of the breach, and fired with grape. The storming party immediately followed, and in twenty minutes we had possession of that part of the town around the church, and the white flag was raised on both pueblos: they were shot down, and night now coming on, we lay down in the full expectation of renewing the fight at early dawn.

"The enemy occupied two large and very strong buildings, about one hundred and fifty feet long and seven stories high, of a pyramidal form, all the entrances being through the roofs, which were gained by ladders. The walls were too thick for our solid shot to pass through

them, and we had but a few left. Early the next morning, the aged men, and women bringing their infants, images, and crosses, came to us with a white flag, begging for mercy and protection. Their request was granted, and we returned to Don Fernando. The Indians said they were excited to rebellion by the Mexicans, by the hope of plunder, and by being told that their property would be taken from them by the Americans. Our loss in killed and wounded, on the 4th, was fifty-four killed and wounded, out of less than four hundred and fifty. The loss of the enemy, one hundred and fifty-two killed; number of wounded not ascertained. Of the insurgent leaders, two had been killed at Canada and Pueblo de Taos; one was a prisoner, and two at large. One of these has been brought in a prisoner, and was shot by a dragoon. This is an unfortunate circumstance.

"Montayo, the leader, who was our prisoner, was tried by a drum-head court-martial, and sentenced to be hung; which sentence was carried into execution on the 7th instant, in presence of the troops, at Don Fernando."

Colonel Doniphan, who had been ordered to form a junction with General Wool's division, had marched toward Chihuahua with a force of four hundred men, and in the latter part of December reached the vicinity of El Paso del Norte. While on the route, the Americans were attacked by a thousand Mexican troops; Doniphan demanded a parley, which was refused; he then returned the enemy's fire, and in a few minutes put them to flight. On the 27th the division entered El Paso, which was yielded without a blow. Doniphan remained at this place until he could hear something of the movements of Gen. Wool. On the 1st of February he received a reinforcement of men and artillery, which swelled his command to eight hundred and fifty rank and file. The column toward the close of the month took up the line of march for Chihuahua, and on the 28th encountered a body of Mexicans,

under General Heredia, composed of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five cavalry and infantry, supported by ten pieces of artillery.*

The enemy threw forward a strong body of horse, which was commanded by General Garcia Conde; as they charged towards the American line, they were received by a discharge from several pieces of cannon, which checked their advance, and at the third fire completely dispersed them.† The enemy then fell back to Sacramento, where he had erected defences, carrying with him in his retreat his killed and wounded. Doniphan pursued the Mexicans, and on arriving in front of their position, opened a fire from his field-battery upon their redoubts; he also sent a party of cavalry against it, but they were repulsed. The redoubts were, however, finally taken, and the enemy put to the rout, leaving their cannon, camp equipage, and stores, in the hands of the victors.‡

During the winter, the people of California had also risen against the authorities newly established in that region, and, regardless of their solemn oath of allegiance to the United States, had torn down the national ensign and hoisted that of Mexico in its place, on the walls of Ciudad de los Angeles, and at other points. The principal leader in this rising was General Fores, an officer who had been taken prisoner and released upon his parole of honor. An action occurred in November, between a party of seamen from the frigate Savannah and a division of the enemy near Domingo's rancho, in which the latter, being mounted and supported by artillery, gained some advantage over the sailors, who were on foot and armed with muskets; this made the Californians very bold, and it was found necessary to take prompt and vigorous measures to subdue them. In the early part of December, the com-

* See General Heredia's Dispatch, March 2d, 1847. † Ibid.
‡ See Appendix, XXII.

mander of the fleet, Commodore Stockton, mounted his seamen and advanced from San Diego against the enemy, who were posted near the City of the Angels in force. The exertions of the Commodore were not unsuccessful; the American flag was again raised in the revolted district. At a subsequent period an engagement took place near San Diego between the parties, in which the enemy were defeated with loss. General Kearney participated in this affair and was wounded.

General Santa Anna having by his patriotic and energetic efforts succeeded in equipping, drilling, and organizing the different corps of his army, resolved at the close of winter to strike the long meditated blow against the enemies of his country. The government had been foiled in the measures it had adopted for the relief of the military, and much destitution and suffering resulted from the want of the requisite supplies. Santa Anna, it has been before observed, had pledged his private property for the support of his men; the legislature of the state of San Luis had also contributed to the maintenance of the forces upon whose future deeds the hopes of the nation were fixed. The whole number of troops of all arms concentrated at San Luis, amounted to twenty-one thousand three hundred and forty men. Many of these were raw recruits, who were violently dragged from their homes, and had never heard the sound of a hostile gun;* they had, however, received good training during the long time they were encamped, and might have been considered equal to the majority of the soldiery of that country, in point of discipline, for their commander and his officers spared no effort to make them good and efficient soldiers. The long detention at San Luis at last began to wear out the patience of the men, and the General-in-chief felt that unless he began his active operations his army would disappear, as

* Santa Anna's Dispatch, February 27th, 1847.

desertion, to a shameful extent, had already thinned the ranks. "I therefore resolved," said he, "if annihilated, it should be with glory." Having no supplies, the General was again forced to pledge himself for the payment of food for his suffering brigades. In this way he procured the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, with which he was able to furnish them with twelve days' pay.

On the 27th of January, 1847, the first division of the army prepared to move toward the north, on which occasion the General issued a proclamation to the troops, appealing to their patriotism and character as Mexicans; he encouraged them to bear the privations and suffering they would be compelled to endure, with patience, as the cause they sustained was a holy one. "Let us swear," said he, "before the great Eternal, that we will not delay an instant in purging our soil of the stranger who has dared to profane it with his presence. No treaty, nothing which may not be heroic, and proud."

The army left San Luis by brigades, and advanced upon Saltillo by hasty marches.* General Jose Minon had

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* The number of troops composing the Mexican army, according to their own statement, was as follows:

The sappers and artillerists, with nineteen guns of heavy calibre	650
1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, 10th and 11th regiments of the line, and 1st and 3d light troops	6,240
4th light troops, mixed of Santa Anna, 1st active of Celaya, do. of Guadalaxara, do. of Lagos, do. of Queretaro, do. of Mexico,	3,200
Total, departed from San Luis	10,090
Troops which General Parrodi conducted from the town of Tula, with three pieces of heavy calibre, with their munitions	1,000
Cavalry on the march	6,000
Artillery do	250
Division under General Mejia	4,000
Total	21,340

[The artillery was supplied with 600 rounds of ammunition.]

been ordered to the front with a strong division of cavalry, with directions to observe the movements of the Americans; this duty was executed in so skillful a manner that the latter were unaware of their approach.

By the 2d of February the whole army was *en route* for the north; the commander-in-chief left San Luis on that day; he travelled in a large, clumsy carriage, drawn by eight mules.

On the 19th of January, Major Gaines with a party of thirty Kentucky cavalry, who had been engaged in a reconnoissance on the San Luis road, arrived at the hacienda of Encarnacion. He encountered at this place a detachment of Arkansas horse, under the command of Major Borland, who had been waiting there for some days for a reinforcement, in order to attack a division of the enemy, who were said to be posted in front. The Americans started on the expedition, but having no guide, were constrained to return to the hacienda. On the following morning they found themselves surrounded on all sides by an overwhelming force of Mexican cavalry. Answering the challenge of the enemy's bugles with a shout of defiance, the party prepared to defend themselves; as the lancers advanced on one side, a white flag was seen to approach on the other, the bearer of which demanded a surrender to General Minon, whose force consisted of three thousand men. After some deliberation, the terms offered by Minon, which were sufficiently liberal, were accepted by the officers, although the men were eager to fight, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers. On the 22d, the prisoners were marched off toward the south; on the evening of that day, Captain Henrie, who had been captured at Mier some years before, and had felt the bitter pangs which await the unfortunate victims of Mexican vengeance, made an almost miraculous escape, and carried the news of the misfortune which had befallen his comrades, to the American army at Saltillo.

General Wool, then in command of the forces, rightly conceiving that it could be no ordinary party of observation which had displayed itself in front, informed General Taylor, who was then at Monterey, of the event which had taken place, and of his conviction that Minon's division was the advance of the enemy's main body. Taylor left Monterey on the 31st of January, with a small reinforcement, and reached Saltillo on the 2d of February; he immediately advanced to Agua Nueva, twenty miles south of the city, and encamped, his whole force being about five thousand, most of which was composed of volunteers who had never been in battle. While the army was in position at this place occurred an event, which is deeply to be regretted, and conflicts with a declaration I have made in regard to the humane manner in which the war has been conducted; but as it was the act of a separate corps, the odium rests upon it and not upon the arms of the republic. The Arkansas cavalry having lost a number of men belonging to the regiment, who were killed in a most inhuman manner, as their mutilated remains plainly indicated, resolved to revenge the death of their comrades. A party of thirty of them left the camp, unknown to their commanders, and entered a ravine where a portion of the inhabitants of the country had fled for shelter. The Arkansas men fell upon them and put some twenty of them to death; an act of cowardly vengeance, even if the Mexicans were guilty, because they were unarmed and defenceless at the time.

On the 20th of February, 1847, the Mexican columns arrived at the hacienda of Encarnacion, having endured the combined sufferings of cold, hunger, and fatigue, during the long march of three hundred miles from San Luis. Santa Anna reviewed his troops at this place, and discovered that his force had diminished, during the advance, at least one thousand, by desertion, sickness, and other

causes.* At noon on the following day he left Encarnacion and encamped that night at the pass of Carnero, a short distance from Taylor's lines. The latter having learned from the Texan spies, under Major McCulloch, that the former was approaching, broke up his camp at Agua Nueva on the evening of the 21st, and fell back to the pass of Angostura, a distance of twelve miles, and took a position in a narrow defile, directly in front of the hacienda of San Juan de Buena Vista. The place had been previously examined by General Wool, and the commander-in-chief selected it as possessing the best advantages for fighting a force so immensely superior. On either side of the valley, which was so contracted in some places that a single wagon could scarcely pass through it, arose steep and rugged hills; on the right of the road a number of deep gullies extended back to some distance. On the left, a succession of broken ridges and precipitous ravines ran back toward the mountain; a ditch also covered the road on the left. Having assumed a position here, General Taylor proceeded to Saltillo, on the same evening, to prepare for its defence, leaving General Wool in command at Angostura.

About eleven o'clock, on the morning of the 22d of February, the enemy's advance, consisting of all his cavalry, commanded by Santa Anna in person, came in sight of the American lines. The forces drawn up to receive them were but four thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, rank and file, four thousand of whom were volunteers. The position occupied by the different corps, was as follows: Captain Washington's battery, (4th Artillery,) was posted to command the road, while the 1st and 2d Illinois regiments, under colonels Hardin and Bissell, each eight companies, (to the latter of which was attached Captain Connor's company of Texas volunteers,) and the

* Santa Anna's Dispatch, February 27th, 1847.

2d Kentucky, under Colonel McKee, occupied the crests of the ridges on the left, and in the rear. The Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry, commanded by colonels Yell, and H. Marshall, occupied the extreme left, near the base of the mountain; while the Indiana brigade, under Brigadier-General Lane, composed of the 1st and 2d regiments, under colonels Bowles and Lane; the Mississippi riflemen, under colonel Davis; the squadrons of 1st and 2d Dragoons, under Captain Steen and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the light batteries of captains Sherman and Bragg, 3d artillery, were held in reserve."*

The advance guard of the Mexican army, consisting of four light battalions, commanded by General Ampudia, was sent forward to take possession of a height on the right of the road, and in rear of the ravines. This manœuvre was well executed, and in the meantime Santa Anna sent a staff-officer with a flag, demanding of Taylor that he must surrender at discretion, promising him good treatment and honorable usage; that he had surrounded him with twenty thousand men—that resistance was out of the question—and if he attempted it, his command must be routed and destroyed. Taylor, in reply, informed the Mexican leader that he could not comply with his request and that he might commence operations as soon as he was inclined to do so.†

The battle began upon the extreme left, and a brisk fire was kept up between Ampudia's brigade and a portion of the Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry, which had dismounted, and in conjunction with a rifle battalion had engaged the enemy. The latter opened his artillery and threw a few shells against the former, but without effect. The skirmishing continued until night, the loss sustained by either party being very slight. Both armies remained in position, sleeping upon their arms in the open air; the

* General Taylor's Dispatch, March 6th, 1847.

† See Appednix, XXIII.

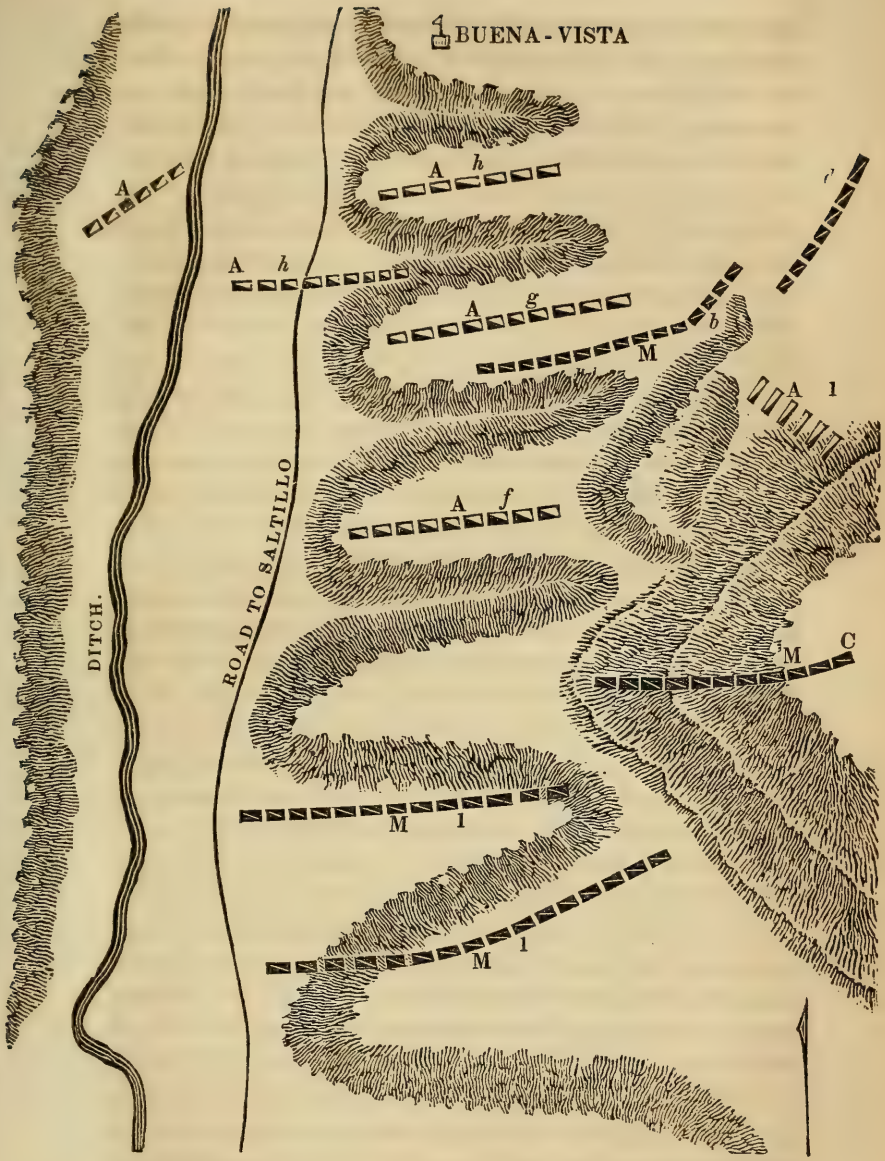
night was cold and bleak, the wind was blowing terrifically, and the rain drenched the soldiers to the skin. General Taylor returned to Saltillo that evening, with the Mississippi rifles and a squadron of dragoons.* During the day a body of fifteen hundred cavalry, under General

* *February* 21.—At 1 in the afternoon we marched from Encarnacion. Such was the scarcity of water, that the wells hardly sufficed for the troops, and the horses and mules had to be sent to some distance to be watered. At nine in the evening we encamped at the pass of Carnero, but we suffered severely from a violent and cold norther, and had to kindle fires in order to endure it, although contrary to orders.

22.—At dawn we commenced the march, and learned on the road that the enemy had abandoned his position and retired towards Saltillo. At five minutes after nine we arrived at Agua Nueva, whence the General-in-chief went in advance, with all the cavalry, and at eleven we overtook the enemy in possession of the heights called Chupadero, or Angostura, as shown in the map, (the A's, signifying Americans, and the M's, Mexicans.)

We took a position in M 1, and awaited the infantry, which arrived at one o'clock, having taken on the road, five wagons and some provisions and forage, left on it by the enemy. The four light corps, under General Ampudia and Colonel Baneneli, were immediately ordered to take possession of height C. The enemy vainly tried to dislodge them from it by moving against it a heavy column, A 1, which maintained the attack all the afternoon, but was compelled to retire, leaving the ravine filled with wounded. In our position we passed the night, which was absolutely infernal, owing to cold, rain and wind, which latter almost amounted to a hurricane; while we had neither food nor fuel.

23.—At dawn we commenced our movements. About 3,000 infantry, and four pieces, commanded by General Pacheco, moved to the right to take the height F; and at nine a heavy fire was opened. The cavalry charged at the same moment. The charge was excellent, though some of the corps acted badly. Much havoc was however made among the enemy, and the height was carried by force of arms. We also lost a large number of men, and the new corps of Guanajuato dispersed. If at that juncture we had been attacked with vigor, we would probably have been defeated. New columns were organized, and successively charged with extraordinary valor, and though the enemy defended himself with extraordinary firmness, he was dislodged from the height *g*, we remaining in possession of the field, in the position, *M b*, *M d*, and he reduced to that of *A h*.—*By an officer of Engineers in the Mexican army.*



BATTLE OF LA ANGOSTURA, OR BUENA VISTA.

A.—Americans. M.—Mexicans.



Minon, had appeared between Angostura and the city, evidently placed there to attack the rear of the American line, or to make an attempt upon the town itself. To provide for the defence of Saltillo was an important duty; a field-work had been erected, upon which was mounted two howitzers; the General also detached two companies of riflemen and a field-piece for the protection of the place.

At sunrise on the morning of the 23d, Santa Anna ordered General Pacheco, with a division of three thousand infantry and four guns of heavy calibre, to take the position occupied by the Americans, in front. The cavalry was at the same time brought up to support the movement. The light troops, under Ampudia, had already suffered from the fire of Marshall's riflemen, who, sheltered by the uneven ground, handled their weapons as backwoodsmen alone know how to do; every missile told in the right place. The columns, under Pacheco, charged up the road; as they approached, a battery was opened upon them, and they were assailed by a stream of grape and canister, which compelled them to fall back in disorder; one portion of the troops were entirely dispersed. Reorganizing his broken masses, Santa Anna again sent them forward; moving toward the left of the American line, which was extended upon a large plateau; the enemy were met by the 2d Indiana and Illinois regiments, and three pieces of cannon. An effective fire was poured into the Mexican columns, but failed to check their advance; on they came, driving back the infantry, which, exposed to a battery posted to the left, were unable to support the artillery, one piece of which was captured by the enemy. The 2d Indiana regiment, stationed in advance, received and checked the attacking column of Gen. Pacheco, which was four thousand strong; and was exposed, also, to a fire of a field battery, which swept through their ranks. The regiment, after delivering twenty-one effective volleys into the heart of the dense column which was before it, was precipitately ordered to retire by its colonel. The

command being repeated, with no place designated for reformation, or military maneuver exercised in the execution of it, the regiment fell into confusion, and were not again assembled as a body. While part continued the retreat, a large portion, with their colonel, joined the next regiment met advancing, and returned to the fight in its ranks; continuing in that throughout the eventful day.

The left wing of the American line having been driven back in disorder, and the Mexican columns continuing to advance in overwhelming force against that flank, the light troops were compelled to retire from their position on the mountain, leaving the former masters of the ground; some of the latter were not rallied until they reached Buena Vista, a mile in the rear. The Illinois regiment, supported by Sherman's battery, made a gallant effort to hold its position; great numbers of the enemy were swept down at every discharge of the guns, but the destructive fire seemed to fall unheeded among the dusky masses, which were pressing with resistless impetuosity against the opposing line. Unable to sustain so unequal a conflict, and being completely outflanked, this part of the army also gave way and was forced to retire. On came the Mexicans, several thousands in number, winding along the base of the mountain, which seemed "girdled with a belt of steel, as their glittering sabres and polished lances reflected the beams of the morning sun."

The enemy had now gained the rear of the American left, and the battle was upon the point of being lost when General Taylor arrived upon the scene of action from Saltillo, where he had passed the night. The Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Davis, who had been ordered to the left, immediately engaged the Mexican infantry, and in conjunction with Bragg's battery and the 2d Kentucky regiment, maintained a desperate conflict with the attacking columns. The cavalry advancing rapidly toward the Mississippians, appeared about to ride them down and trample them to the earth, when their

line opened in the form of the letter ⊳, and when the lancers had entered between the lines, a tremendous fire was poured into their ranks, which forced them to fall back in confusion. The left being strengthened by the transfer of additional troops and artillery from the right, the fury of the battle increased; grape and canister, rifle and musket shot, swept down whole battalions of the enemy in front and rear; the air was obscured with smoke and the mountains reverberated with the roar of the cannon of either army.

The efforts of Santa Anna to break the American left were unceasing; column after column of cavalry and infantry were thrown toward that point, but with no success; they were repulsed with great loss at every charge. The Mexican cavalry skirting the base of the mountain, although suffering severely from the shower of iron missiles which spread havoc among the squadrons, continued to advance toward Buena Vista; some of them, unable to stand the fire, halted and retreated under shelter of a ravine to the main body,—the movement was effected under cover of a battery which had been brought up for that purpose. As it was evidently the purpose of the column to make an attempt upon the hacienda where the wagon-train and baggage had been deposited, General Taylor ordered Colonel May's dragoons and two field-pieces to that point. Before this force reached the hacienda, the enemy charged upon the troops already there; they were met and repulsed by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, the commander of the latter corps, Colonel Yell, receiving his death-wound from a Mexican lance during the encounter. The lancers divided into two portions, one of which charging past the depot, was received by a galling discharge of small arms and artillery, which drove them in disarray back to the mountains. Colonel May now arrived with a reinforcement of horse, and taking a position on the enemy's right flank, he held them in check, while the

cannon did terrible execution upon the masses crowded in the narrow defiles.

The fate of this division of the Mexican army seemed about to be decided; it had advanced, in the eager effort to gain the rear, too far from the main army, and annihilation or a surrender appeared to be the only alternative. Perceiving the critical situation in which his best cavalry were placed, Santa Anna, in order to gain time for them to extricate themselves, sent one of his staff to General Taylor with a message, demanding of him—"what he wanted?" The latter ordered his troops to cease firing, and dispatched General Wool to the former's head-quarters to confer with him. The Mexicans still kept up their fire all the while, and General Wool, unable to stop them, was of course compelled to return without seeing Santa Anna, who did not intend that he should have that honor. The *ruse* succeeded admirably; the broken squadrons in the rear of the American lines effected a retreat along the base of the mountain, and, in spite of the efforts of the whole army, rejoined the Mexican camp. The stratagem employed by Santa Anna, upon this memorable occasion, illustrates the character of the man—his entire disregard of the principles of justice, where his own interests are concerned, and the ease and rapidity with which his intellect suggested a remedy for an unforeseen contingency. The Mexican people applaud the craft of their leader: had an American general been guilty of a similar offence, it cannot be doubted but that the whole nation would have condemned it as an act worthy of no one but a Camanche Indian.

General Minon, in the meantime, with his brigade of cavalry ascended an elevated plain above Saltillo, and occupied a position between Taylor's army and the town; while here they captured several of the swift-footed messengers who were carrying the news of the defeat. Minon having made a demonstration upon the city, he was received by a severe fire from the redoubt defended by

Webster's battery, which caused him to retire; as he fell back, Captain Shover pursued him with one field-piece and a party of horsemen, which being reinforced soon after by a company of Illinois volunteers and another cannon, he was driven into the defiles which led to the low ground, where he was closely followed. Minon attempted to charge the artillery, but his men, incapable of sustaining the fire, were thrown into confusion and retreated in disorder, nor did he again make his appearance in the vicinity.* While this exciting affair was passing in the rear, the main armies continued to answer each other's guns, but only at intervals. Santa Anna had made no movement of any importance since the return of his cavalry from their perilous position in the rear of the adverse line.

This apparent want of energy on the part of the enemy, was caused by his preparations for a last desperate effort to dislodge his adversary, whose ranks seemed to grow in power and in numbers, rather than to diminish, beneath the fire of his ordnance. For this final endeavor Santa Anna ordered a battery of six-pounders to the front, and another of twenty-four pounders to the right, the columns on the left were at the same time transferred to the right flank; the reserves were also brought up into the front and formed into battle array. The command of these forces was entrusted to General Francisco Perez, a brave soldier and a warm friend of the General-in-chief. The word was given to advance, and the columns rushed forward upon the Americans, who were extended on the level ground between the ravines. This wing was composed of the Kentucky and Illinois foot, under Hardin and McKee. As the enemy advanced, his guns opened upon the flank, which he had determined to turn at all hazards.

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* Minon was arraigned before a court-martial for his conduct in this affair.

The infantry, in whose front were placed two field-pieces, resisted the overwhelming masses of horse and foot, which were rapidly approaching, with intrepidity, and the artillery, under Captain O'Brien, continued to belch forth its deadly contents every moment; but resistance was useless; as well might they have attempted to stop the progress of an avalanche.

Overborne by numbers, the left wing of the American army gave way, leaving two pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy. "The moment was most critical," Captain Bragg, who had at that instant arrived with his artillery, was ordered by his General to open upon the Mexican columns. "Without any infantry to support him, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, this officer came rapidly into action, the Mexican line being but a few yards from the muzzle of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate; the second and third drove him back in disorder, and saved the day."* The second Kentucky regiment followed in pursuit, and in the eagerness of the moment pressed onward too far; the enemy's cavalry, seeing the position of this corps, turned upon it and drove it into a ravine, at the termination of which was a squadron of lancers ready to charge upon them; thus placed between two divisions of the enemy, the gallant Kentuckians defended themselves with a courage which increased with the danger, and for a time the carnage on both sides was terrible. The Mexicans bore down upon them with the glittering points of many thousand spears; their onset was resistless, and the handful of Americans seemed doomed to inevitable destruction. Colonel McKee and his second in command, Colonel Clay, encouraged their men by their heroic bearing, and inspired confidence in them by the cool manner in which they performed their duty. The Kentuckians, overwhelmed

* General Taylor's Dispatch, March 6th, 1847.

by the masses which were thrown against their diminished line, began to retreat through the ravines in disorder; at this moment, when all seemed lost, Washington's battery opened upon the lancers, and hurled death into their compact ranks; horse and rider fell headlong to the earth, and a broad path was soon made through the enemy's squadrons by the storm of grape and canister rained upon them by the artillery. Unable to stand the murderous fire, the Mexicans suddenly wheeled and retreated; as they did so the Mississippi riflemen poured a volley into their flank, which hastened their retrograde movement.

General Perez returned with the shattered remains of his command, now greatly reduced in numbers, and demoralized in feeling, and was well received by Santa Anna. Night now drew her dusky mantle over the scene and the exhausted soldiers threw themselves upon the earth, and refreshed themselves for the first time for many hours. General Taylor ordered the wounded to be carefully attended to, and during the night they were taken to Saltillo. The evening was severely cold, the mercury being below the freezing point; no fuel could be procured, and the weary troops were compelled to bivouac on the ground without fires. Fully expecting a renewal of the battle on the next day, the General drew seven fresh companies from the city, and made other preparations for the anticipated struggle.

The field which had witnessed the fierce strife of the contending armies presented a dismal spectacle to the eye of the beholder; the level ground between the ravines was covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded; so were the gorges, the road, and the side of the mountain. A thousand mutilated corses lay stiffening on the earth, and the moans of the dying were heard on all sides.

Soon after dark Santa Anna retreated to Agua Nueva, carrying with him six hundred of his wounded. The Mexican loss in this battle was nearly two thousand, five

hundred of whom were left dead upon the field. The American loss was two hundred and sixty-seven killed, and four hundred and fifty-six wounded; among the former were several officers, whose deaths robbed the victory of half its glory.* The gallant Hardin, of the Illinois regiment; Colonel McKee, and the chivalric Clay of the second Kentucky regiment; Colonel Yell of the Arkansas cavalry, and many brave subalterns, fell at the head of their troops, in the very thickest of the fight. The Kentuckians, Mississippians, a part of the Indianians, and the whole of the Illinois troops, behaved with unexampled coolness and courage; while the three companies of regular artillery, under Bragg, Washington, Sherman, and O'Brien, performed deeds of heroic valor seldom witnessed; three times, during the conflict, they had driven the dense masses of the enemy back, when victory was almost within his grasp.

The battle of Buena Vista was the severest which had been fought, and for several hours the fate of the day seemed to hang upon the slightest movement. During the heat of the engagement, when the whole force of the Mexican army was pressing on to the attack, General Taylor was urged by some of his most experienced officers to fall back and take up a new position—a suggestion he refused to listen to, but resolved to hold his ground to the last. On the 24th the American commander dispatched a staff-officer to Agua Nueva to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, which was effected to the satisfaction of both parties. Santa Anna summoned a council of war on the 25th, the unanimous vote of which was in favor of a retreat to San Luis.† On the 27th the advance of the American army appeared at Agua Nueva, at the same time the rear guard of the Mexicans evacuated the place. Santa Anna continued his route to San Luis, his men suffering much on the march; his reception at that city

* See Appendix, XXII. † Santa Anna's Dispatch, Feb. 27, 1847.

was enthusiastic—he made a triumphal entry into its walls amid the peal of ordnance, the shouts of the people, and other demonstrations of public rejoicing. San Luis was illuminated that evening, in honor of the return of the distinguished chief.

While these momentous events were passing in the north, the south of Mexico was torn by intestine commotions; the clergy, resorting to their peculiar weapons, sowed dissensions between the people, the soldiery, and the government, which produced the expected result. On the night of the 26th of February, several regiments of the militia, or national guard, quartered in the city of Mexico, raised the cry of revolt, and issued a pronunciamento against the federal system and Gomez Farias. The insurrection was headed by Don Matias Pena y Barragan, a monarchist and an ally of the clergy. General Canalizo endeavored to put down the attempt, but could not succeed; the influence of the priesthood was too great, and in a short time the capital was in a state of great excitement, which threatened the overthrow of the government. The news of the battle of Buena Vista produced a lull in the tempest, by diverting the minds of the rabble and soldiery to a different subject. The army, said Santa Anna and his officers, in their dispatches, has gained a great victory over the American forces; famine and misery have compelled us to retreat, the elements also conspired to drive us to this alternative, but we have paralyzed the enemy and left him terrified! During the rejoicings which followed this announcement, the tumults which disgraced the city were quelled for a brief space.

On the 19th of March, two days after his arrival at San Luis, Santa Anna addressed a communication to the Vice-President, and another to General Barragan, in which he expressed his determination to proceed to the capital and assume the reins of government in person. He ordered the hostile chiefs to cease their fratricidal war, which was alike

opposed to the voice of reason and humanity, causing Mexican blood to flow in the streets of the city, which should only be shed in defence of the country. This appeal had the desired effect; an armistice was agreed upon, and all parties impatiently awaited the return of the illustrious General from the north.

On his route to the capital, Santa Anna was greeted everywhere by the people with demonstrations of unbounded respect; he received congratulatory addresses from several of the states, and was waited upon by a deputation from Congress before he reached his destination. On the 20th he arrived in the vicinity of Mexico; two days afterwards he took the oath of office, and was inaugurated as President of the republic at the town or suburb of Guadalupe. On the afternoon of the 24th of March, he entered the capital with great pomp and solemnity. A Te Deum was sung in the cathedral where he attended mass, after which he received the felicitations of the municipal authorities. Had he annihilated the whole American army, and rolled back the invading tide beyond the Sabine, Santa Anna would not have been greeted with more enthusiasm by the fickle and excitable Mexicans. In his inaugural address, the President declared his intention to support the constitution and the laws, to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and to restore the internal and external peace, upon which the happiness of the nation depended.

General Winfield Scott having completed his preparations for the reduction of Vera Cruz, embarked his divisions which had been concentrated at Tampico and the island of Lobos, sixty miles south of that place, and on the 9th of March appeared before the strong city and castle of San Juan de Ulloa. The latter has already been described; the former is situated on the mainland, and is a well-built, handsome town; the houses are generally two stories high, constructed in the old Spanish style, with a square

court in the centre, and with flat roofs. The material of which they are composed is a species of coral (*madrepora astrea*) which abounds in the vicinity; the lime of which the cement is formed is also made from the same substance; it is used to protect the coverings of the houses, and upon the foot-pavements, receiving from friction a polish like marble. The walls of the city are built of the same material, and are strengthened by nine bastions, two of which, Santiago and Conception, are remarkably strong and of immense size; their guns command the castle and the entrance to the harbor, the curtain connecting these towers is of inconsiderable height and thickness. The circumference of the walls is 3,124 Castilian varas;* the number of cannon mounted upon it, at various points, was more than one hundred, ten of which were brass mortars.

Vera Cruz was founded about the year 1560, by the Count de Monterey, upon the spot where Cortes first landed; it was invested with the privileges of a city in 1615, by Philip III., king of Spain. The Villa Rica, begun by the conquerors in 1519, was situated to the north of the present town, three leagues from Zempoalla. Three years afterwards, the Spaniards removed the settlement to the mouth of the Rio Antigua, which they were also compelled to abandon on account of the insalubrity of the location. Vera Cruz contains many massive and imposing structures, which have, however, been suffered to fall into decay. The population of the place has been gradually diminishing, under the blighting influence of intestine war, for many years; in 1802, it was estimated at sixteen thousand;† in 1831, it had decreased to six thousand two hundred and twenty-eight; at the present time, it is scarcely four thousand. The Mexican government were perfectly acquainted

* The Castilian vara is three inches less than the English yard. The circuit within the walls is 5,362,000 square feet.

† Humboldt.

with the designs of General Scott against this important point, and had made every effort in its power to put it in a condition to repel an attack, but owing to the difficulties under which the administration labored at this critical juncture the preparations for defence were incomplete.

On the afternoon of the 9th of March, 1847, the American army, consisting in the aggregate of twelve thousand men, prepared to make a descent upon the coast, under cover of the guns of the squadron, consisting of the steamer Mississippi, the Raritan and Potomac frigates, and the John Adams, Albany, and St. Mary's sloops of war, to which was attached a fleet of smaller vessels, composed of the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and five gun-boats; the naval force was commanded by Commodore Connor. At five o'clock the 1st division, under General Worth, four thousand strong, entered the surf-boats, sixty-seven in number, which were each placed in charge of a naval officer, and rowed by sailors belonging to the ships; the gun-boats, or "musquito fleet," were anchored three miles below the city, so as to protect the grand movement by their cross fire. The line of boats advanced toward the shore to the south of the town in regular order; as they approached, the enemy opened a fire upon them from the latter and the castle, which was too distant to have the slightest effect. When the troops neared the beach, they sprang into the sea, and forming by companies rushed on land; the 2d division, under General Patterson, followed in the same manner; and the 3d division, commanded by General Twiggs, reached the shore by midnight,—the movement having been effected without the loss of a man, or an accident of any kind.* At sunrise on the 10th, the energetic Worth, who was in advance with his regulars, moved up the shore; and after marching some distance, he turned the head of his column toward the rear of

* General Scott's Dispatch, March 12th, 1847.

the city, when he encountered a party of the enemy's outposts, who were dispersed by the discharge of a piece of artillery.

The ground over which the infantry were forced to make their way, was composed of loose sand, which had been drifted by the north wind into immense hills, some of which were more than fifty feet high; the openings between these elevations were intersected with dense forests of chapparal, very difficult to pass.

Having extended his line to its full length, Worth halted and assumed a position, with his right resting upon the sea-shore, and his left flank prolonged into the interior. The second division followed and fell into line on the left of the first; General Twiggs marching his column still further on, spread out his corps until the city was encompassed with a wall of bayonets; the line of investment stretching from the beach to the hills. During this movement, the Mexican ordnance were throwing round shot and shell at the invaders, but the missiles fell harmless among their ranks. Moving still nearer the suburbs of the city, the aqueduct which supplied the inhabitants with water, was taken possession of, and its communication with the town cut off; entrenchments were also marked out, and the army set to work opening them as soon as night fell. On the 11th and 12th, the men labored incessantly, exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, and the sharp wind of the north, which enveloped them in a dense cloud of sand, which proved actually more annoying to them than the Mexican shot. On the next day the *norther* ceased, and the line of investment being completed, Scott prepared to open his batteries; the heavy metal belonging to which could not be brought on shore on account of the tempestuous condition of the sea.*

* On the 21st, Commodore Conner gave up the command of the fleet to Commodore Perry.

On the 22d, the mortars having been planted, and the trenches opened, at 2 o'clock, P. M., General Scott sent a formal summons to the city to surrender.* General Morales, who commanded the place, refused to listen to the proposal, and declared his determination to defend both castle and town to the last. Seven mortars were then put into action,† and great destruction followed. The gun-boats approached the city at the same moment and opened a brisk fire from their guns upon that side, which was answered by the besieged, in an energetic manner; the cannonading was kept up the whole of the night, until nine o'clock the following morning. Two other mortars having been mounted, and three thirty-four pounders, and as many Paixhan guns of a large calibre, being brought into play at once, the bombardment became positively awful. The houses on the landward side were blown to pieces and a great number of the besieged were destroyed. The Spanish, French, and English Consuls, addressed a communication to the American leader, requesting him to allow the women and children to retire from the terrible scene. General Scott, however, refused, as the enemy had abundant time, before he landed, to remove his families and non-combatants, and it was *his* duty to take the place at all risks. On the 25th, four 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers were added to the batteries, which, united with the guns which had been landed from the ships, worked dreadful havoc; several bastions were entirely demolished, and great breaches were made in the walls. The inhabitants and soldiery became terrified with the awful desolation which the hostile army had created, in the once fair city, and urged General Morales to surrender; he refused to listen to them, asserting his determination to defend the town as long as one stone stood upon another. The soldiery became mutinous, refused to

* See Appendix, XXIV. † Ibid.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF VERA CRUZ, BY THE AMERICANS.

AB, Right and left extremes of line of boats in landing.
CCCCC, Sand Hills upon which the troops formed as they landed.
D, Mexican Battery, of one gun, taken by the Americans.
EEEE, Position of the Gun-boats.
FF, Spitfire and Vixen.
G, Position of the John Adams.
H,I,K,L, Foreign men-of-war.
M,N, Northern and Southern extremes of the Anchorage of the Fleet.
O, British Mail Steamer.

obey the Governor, and elected General Landero in his place; that officer being in favor of a surrender.

On the morning of the 26th of March, the Mexican leader made overtures for a capitulation; although a terrible storm was raging at the time, the commissioners, consisting of General Worth, Colonel Totten and General Pillow, on the American side, and the Senors Villaneuva, Herrera, and Robles, on the part of Mexico, met, and on the 27th, signed a capitulation.*

It was provided that the city of Vera Cruz and castle of San Juan de Ulloa should be delivered to the troops of the United States, the garrisons of the same to surrender themselves prisoners of war, with their arms, munitions, public stores, and *materiel* of every description. The officers were permitted to retain their private effects and side arms, and both rank and file were allowed five days to retire to their respective homes,—the former becoming responsible for the observance of the parole, not to engage in hostilities against this government during the existing war. At 10 o'clock, A. M., on the 29th of March, 1847, the flag of the stars and stripes was hoisted upon the walls of the city and the towers of San Juan.†

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* See Appendix, XXVI.

† "I have said but little about the evacuation of this place by the Mexicans, on the 29th of March, because I have had little time. It reminded me more of the 'Departure of the Israelites' than aught else I can compare it to—the long procession of soldiers, national militia, and people of all classes and sexes, as they poured out of the walls of a city, set off as this is, with huge, antique-looking domes, and other architectural ornaments. As at Monterey, there was the same throng of camp-women, carrying every conceivable implement of ornament and use, especially of the former, to say nothing of innumerable parrots, poodle dogs, and other absurdities of a kindred nature. It is a singular fact, that the poorer the people, in every country, the greater number of dogs they must have about them; but in no nation does the half-starved population affect the animal to the same extent as in this. There was one fellow, in the procession that marched out of Vera Cruz, that I particularly noticed. He certainly

The siege had lasted sixteen days, during which a large quantity of heavy shot had been projected by the various batteries by land and sea. The number of prisoners taken was nearly four thousand, among whom there were a great number of officers of high rank; the Mexicans estimated their loss, during the bombardment of Vera Cruz, at nearly one thousand killed and wounded; among whom were, unfortunately, several women and children; a casualty, however deeply to be regretted, which could not be avoided.* The American loss, during the siege, was sixty-five killed and wounded; fourteen of this number belonged to the navy, and fifty-one to the army; the former were engaged in working a battery on shore. The officers killed, were Captain Vinton, of the artillery, Captain Alburtis of the infantry, and Midshipman Shubrick, of the navy. By the arrival of fresh troops, the army of General Scott was increased to thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy men; a force strong enough to take, and hold the provinces of the south, as long as the two countries continue to occupy a hostile attitude toward each other.

The intelligence of the fall of Vera Cruz reached the city of Mexico on the 31st of March, and created a great excitement among all classes; for a time, the people and public functionaries were overwhelmed with the disastrous

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looked like a priest, both in garb and mien; but then as he had a fiddle in one hand, and a fighting cock in the other, it may be unfair to class him among the holy brotherhood. I shall not soon forget the man and his baggage. G. W. K."

* We understand that General Scott delayed opening his guns upon the city for eight hours, to give the women and children an opportunity of withdrawing, assuring them of protection for themselves, and whatever property they might choose to carry with them. Not an individual embraced this offer, and the subsequent destruction of women and children, during the bombardment, was a source of the most painful regret to the General and the army. Though no accurate return had been made, it was believed that the slain in the city, during the investment, exceeded eight hundred.

news; but a reaction took place in their minds, and when Santa Anna made a requisition upon the capital, for a fresh body of troops, thousands enrolled themselves under his command: it is true, these patriotic recruits were from the lower orders, but they will fight none the worse for having plundered on the highway, or slept all their lives in the open air.

In his proclamation to the nation, announcing the capitulation of the great sea-port of the republic; Santa Anna attributed the misfortune, not to the valor of the Americans, or the superior number of their men, but to the interminable dissensions which had so long disgraced the country. "Chance may decree," said he, "that the proud American host shall subdue the capital of the Aztec empire; yet the nation shall not perish: I swear that Mexico shall triumph, if my wishes are seconded by a sincere and unanimous effort. A thousand times fortunate for the nation, will the fall of Vera Cruz prove, if the disaster shall awaken, in the hearts of the Mexicans, the enthusiasm, dignity, and generous ardor of a true patriotism."

There was, however, a more formidable enemy to be encountered than even the victorious army of the States; this dangerous foe was to be found in the embodied ignorance, superstition, poverty, and destitution, of nine-tenths of the people; which led them continually to break out in revolt against the authority which they themselves had established, by recognizing the constitution of 1824; by approving of the return of Santa Anna, and his elevation to supreme power, by the sovereign constituent Congress of the nation.

On the 29th of March, General Worth was placed in command of the conquered city; the port was thrown open, and a moderate tariff established, the proceeds of which were applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded

of the army, the squadron, and the indigent inhabitants of Vera Cruz.

NOTE.—During the bombardment, the Americans threw the following number of shot:

Army Battery.

3,000 ten-inch shells	90 lbs. each.
500 round shot	25 "
200 eight-inch howitzer shells	68 "

Navy Battery.

1,000 Paixhan shot	68 "
800 round shot	32 "

Musquito Fleet.

1,200 shot and shell, averaging	62 "

Making, in all, 6,700 shot and shell, weighing 463,600 lbs.

The destruction in the city is most awful—one-half of it is destroyed. Houses are blown to pieces, and furniture scattered in every direction—the streets torn up, and the strongest buildings seriously damaged.

HISTORY OF MEXICO:

CONTINUED FROM

THE CAPTURE OF VERA CRUZ,

TO THE TERMINATION OF THE

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

CONTAINING THE FULL

TREATY OF PEACE, ETC., ETC.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF "YOUNG'S HISTORY OF MEXICO."

BY GEORGE C. FURBER, ESQ.,
AUTHOR OF "TWELVE MONTHS VOLUNTEER."

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY J. A. AND U. P. JAMES.

1850.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The decease of the author of the foregoing portion of the History of Mexico, renders it incumbent on another to carry out the same, whose object, through the whole of the succeeding historical narration has been, to give simply as full and correct an account as possible, of the disastrous battles that succeeded the fall of Vera Cruz to the close of the war with the United States. We give to the reader a concise view of the everchanging scenes of the Mexican government and the political parties of the nation, as acted upon and directed by the multitude of her political chiefs during that period; and though the picture presented cannot be pleasant for the thoughtful mind to contemplate, yet it is interesting from its very changes. We leave it under the government of Herrera, at the conclusion of the war with the United States; and rejoice that the commencement of that administration has shown more energy and vigor, in repressing insurrections, in maintaining order and tranquillity, and in advancing the best interests of the people, than any administration that has held the reins of power since the banishment of the Emperor Iturbide; and it is to be hoped and expected, that the events of the war, and the occupation of parts of the country by the American armies, has proved of advantage to the Mexican nation, in showing the people their true strength, the advantages of law and order in civil society, and the true value of their host of military chieftains; but, more especially, in having had a strong influence in removing from the minds of the people the slavish superstitions with which they have been encircled. It is for the future historian to relate the effect of these lessons upon Mexico, and by that effect to trace the nation in its rising progress to a respectable, and to a degree, happy people; or, on the other hand, by a neglect of these, and by a continuance of the same course as of former years, to follow her fallen power, step by step, to the deepest anarchy; then to record, that Mexico was a nation of former times, but now no more.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1848, by J. A. & U. P. JAMES, in the Clerk's office of the district court of Ohio.

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The possession of the three pieces of American artillery and the flags, taken by Santa Anna, at Buena Vista, enabled him to claim the victory there, in terms sufficiently plausible, to deceive the Mexican nation, always willing to be deceived in opinion of the ability of their generals, and the prowess of their troops.—The fact of the army having totally failed in its proposed object—that of driving the invaders from their northern position—was not thought of, save to refer it to their want of provisions, as the commander-in-chief affirmed.—His reception by the people of the towns on his route of retreat, was that accorded a conqueror. They believed, that he had given a death blow to the army of the United States in the north, and that he would soon utterly defeat and drive from the shores of the republic, that victorious column, which, under Gen. Scott, had just accomplished the reduction of the rich city of Vera Cruz, and the strong castle of Ulloa.

The Mexicans now looked not upon their real losses, but only dwelt upon their future fancied success.—Their spirits and confidence were also much elevated, by the result of an assault, made by Gen. Urrea, with a body of lancers, upon a large wagon-train of the

enemy, near Marin, and not far from Monterey.—On the 22d of February, the same day of the commencement of the battle of Buena Vista, Urrea had wholly routed this American force, killing fifty, and taking thirty prisoners, together with one hundred and ten wagons with army stores, and three hundred pack mules with the same, and valuable merchandise.

This event added to the exultation of the nation, who now believed, that the tide of war would turn, under the direction of Santa Anna; and, to the patriotic appeal which he addressed to them,* upon hearing of the fall of Vera Cruz, they responded, by thousands rushing to his standard.—In a few days, he found his available forces swelled to a respectable army.—Having collected a vast amount of *materiel* of war, and impressed into his service all the wagons of private individuals within the city, and *atajos*, or droves of pack mules, sufficient for his purposes, on the 2d of April he commenced a rapid march for the strong position of Cerro Gordo, on the national road, between the cities of Vera Cruz and Jalapa; which he resolved to fortify in such strength, as to resist the onward movement of the invaders, toward the heart of the country.

On this march, his army was still further increased in numbers. At Puebla, he was received with joy, and supplies furnished him.—From

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* ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, President ad interim of the Mexican Republic, to his compatriots:

Mexicans: Vera Cruz is already in the power of the enemy. It has succumbed; not under the influence of American valor, nor can it be even said that it has fallen under the impulses of their good fortune. To our shame be it said, we ourselves, have produced this deplorable misfortune, by our own interminable discords.

The truth is due to you from the government; you are the arbiters of the fate of our country. If our country is to be defended, it will be you who will stop the triumphant march of the enemy, who now occupies Vera Cruz. If the enemy advance one step more, the national independence will be buried in the abyss of the past.

I am resolved to go out and encounter the enemy. What is life worth, ennobled by the national gratitude, if the country suffers under a censure, the stain of which will be visible upon the forehead of every Mexican?

My duty is to sacrifice myself, and I well know how to fulfill it! Perhaps the American hosts may proudly tread the imperial capital of the Aztecs. I will never witness such opprobrium, for I am decided, first to die fighting!

The momentous crisis has at length arrived to the Mexican Republic. It is as glorious to die fighting, as it is infamous *to declare ourselves conquered, without a struggle*—and by an enemy whose rapacity is as far removed from valor as from generosity.

Mexicans! you have a religion—protect it! You have honor—then free yourselves from infamy! You love your wives, your children—then liberate them from American brutality! But it must be by action—not by vain entreaty nor barren desires—with which the enemy must be opposed. The national cause is infinitely just, although

the castle of Perote, as he advanced, he withdrew many pieces of artillery, in addition to those that he had brought on; and, anticipating a long and protracted battle, from here he added also much *materiel.* At the beautiful city of Jalapa, as he neared his intended position, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, increased among the inhabitants, by the knowledge, that should the army fail to arrest the progress of the enemy, their city would be the first to fall into the invader's hands.—Here, more supplies were furnished, not only in subsistence and ammunition, but in that more needed at this juncture, money for the pay of the troops.

He arrived at the position of Cerro Gordo with an army of near fifteen thousand men, with a fine park of forty-two pieces of artillery, and an immense *materiel* of war.—The old fortifications, which, in the war for independence, had made this point impregnable against the efforts of any force advancing from the east, were reöccupied, repaired, increased, and strengthened.—The wild and desolate hills, and the lonely mountain pass were covered, over and around, by the warlike and imposing battalions of Mexico, whose flag blew out from the lofty summits of the eminences, in the strong gulf breeze, that came rushing up from the extended regions of the tierras calientes, or hot lands, which lay spread out in view at their bases, far below, like a map.

God appears to have deserted us; but His ire will be appeased. when we present, as an expiation of our errors, the sentiments of true patriotism, and of a sincere union. Thus, the Almighty will bless our efforts, and we will be invincible; for, against the decision of eight millions of Mexicans, of what avail are the efforts of eight or ten thousand Americans, when opposed by the fiat of Divine justice!

Perhaps I speak to you for the last time! I pray you listen to me! Do not vacillate between death and bravery; and if the enemy conquer you, at least they will respect the heroism of your resistance. It is now time that the common defense should alone occupy your thoughts! The hour of sacrifice has sounded its approach! Awaken! A tomb opens at your feet! Conquer a laurel to repose on it.

The nation has not yet lost its vitality. I swear to you, I will answer for the triumph of Mexico, if unanimous and sincere desires on your part, second my desires. Happy will have been, a thousand times happy, the unfortunate event at Vera Cruz, if the destruction of that city may have served to infuse into the Mexican breast the dignity and the generous ardor of a true patriotism! Thus will the country have been indubitably saved; but if the country succumb, she will bequeath her opprobrium and her censure to those egotists who were not ready to defend her—to those who traitorously pursued their private turmoils to trample upon the national banner!

Mexicans! your fate is the fate of the nation! Not the Americans, but YOU will decide her destiny! Vera Cruz calls for vengeance! Follow me, and wash out the stain of her dishonor!

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

MEXICO, March 31, 1847.

Under the direction of the commander-in-chief, the whole army was in active note of preparation, and the tones of bugles, and the roll of drums, answered each other from hight to hight, and resounded in the deep glens whose passage was to be effectually prohibited to the enemy.

Another political change had taken place at the capital, a few days before this time. The Vice-President, Gomez Farias, as has been before recorded, had obtained the ill will of the clergy, and horror stricken the more bigoted part of the people, by his efforts to raise means for the support of the armies of the nation, from the sale of the immense property of the church.—This had led to the revolution against his power, conducted by Gen. Peña y Barragan, which the president, Santa Anna, had quelled by his rapid approach from San Luis Potosi.—Now, as he was again about to leave with the army, to meet Gen. Scott, the enemies of Gomez Farias exerted themselves to remove him from office, before he should again have the sway of the government at the capital.—But as this could not be done by revolution without striking at the power of the President Santa Anna, against whom no one, at the present, wished to move, a bolder scheme was planned and carried through congress, after fierce opposition, by the passage of the following decree, which, while it gave the president permission to lead the army against the enemy, effectually removed Gomez Farias from power, by abolishing the office which he held, making provision for its place to be supplied by that of a president-substitute; and also, providing for the next election, according to the old plan of continual changes of form of government and elections, which has been so far, the particular curse of the Mexican Republic.

"1. Permission is granted to the actual President of the Republic, to take command, in person, of the forces which the Government may place under his command, to resist the foreign enemy.

"2. The Vice Presidency of the Republic, established by the law of 21st December last, is suppressed.

"3. The place of the provisional President shall be filled by a substitute, named by Congress, according to the terms of the law just cited.

"4. If, in this election, the vote of the deputations should be tied, in place of determining the choice by lot, Congress shall decide, voting by person.

"5. The functions of the substitute shall cease, when the provisional President shall return to the exercise of power.

"6. On the 15th day of May next, the legislatures of the states shall proceed to the election of a President of the Republic, according

to the form prescribed by the constitution of 1824, and with no other difference, save voting for one individual only.

"7. The same legislatures shall at once transmit to the Sovereign Congress, the result of the election, in a certified dispatch."

This decree was passed upon the 30th March; and at the same sitting, Congress, having been informed, through a minister, that President Santa Anna wished at once to depart for the army, immediately resolved itself into permanent session, and elected, to fill the newly created office of president substitute, Señor Pedro Maria Anaya, a person of patriotism, integrity and capability, who was popular with the three great classes, the clergy, army, and people; and who, moreover, not having been an actor on the changing political arena, at this important period possessed the advantage of having no bitter political enemies.—He was installed into office on the 2d day of April, and as soon as the ceremony was over, Santa Anna left for the army, which had already taken up the line of march.

This action of congress, in thus abolishing the vice presidency, was, by the minority thereof, in a few days after, protested against in the most energetic manner, and declared "irregular and unconstitutional;" and to this protest the legislature of the powerful State of Jalisco added its remonstrance in a short time, but it produced no effect. The president substitute, Anaya, entered upon the duties of his office with vigor, and in conjunction with Gen. Bravo, left in command of the forces at the capital, began making strong efforts to still farther arouse the spirit of resistance against the invaders, both in the capital and nation.

At Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna and his generals spared no exertion necessary to still further increase the formidable defenses.—This position was wild and rugged in the extreme.—A small river of clear water running eastwardly dashed over the rocks and wound its way along in the romantic bottom of a wide and terrible ravine, into the perpendicular depth of which, five hundred feet, it is awful to look down from the rocky hights, which now formed the position of the right of the Mexican army.—The mountain tropical birds sailed through its depths, far below the point of vision, while the opposite precipitous boundary of dark and naked rocks, at the distance of half a mile across the chasm, effectually forbade descent into the depths. No passage, therefore, could be attempted across this from the northwest to the southeast, save at one point, in the latter direction, where with infinite labor, along a natural ravine, that met the other at right angles, the old Spanish road had been constructed, which descended to it, five miles from Cerro Gordo.—A magnificent stone bridge, of lofty

arches, spanned the stream, and the road, leaving it after crossing a small plain, called Plan del Rio, rose again from its depths by a spiral ascent around the brow of a lofty mountain, turned to the northwest. and followed a parallel course, as it rapidly ascended among the rocky hills which were interspersed with long and deep glens and precipitous ravines, not so large as the former, but terrible to look into, and mostly impassable; winding around these hills, and on the precipitous edges of these chasms, the road came to the pass of Cerro Gordo;—this was looked down upon from either side by imposing eminences, their brows now surrounded by breastworks, frowning with cannon, and bristling with bayonets; while in the rear, from strong batteries protruded the mouths of heavy cannon, bearing down upon the pass, rendering it impossible for a foe to advance;—along this road the invaders must come.

Gen. Santa Anna established his headquarters in the rear of these hills, on a plain, and near the edge of the terrible southern ravine.—As it was impossible to descend into its depths to obtain water from the river, a small stream from the hills still in his rear was diverted and conveyed to this spot, by a ditch.—He placed his hospitals and stores around him, and strengthened his immediate position, by a battery of seven pieces of artillery, as a precaution of reserve, and backed them by a body of four thousand lancers, under the command of Gen. Canalizo.—In front of him, as he looked towards the east, rose the lofty hills between which came up the pass.—That on the right, was bounded by the southern ravine on its flank, and ended abruptly in three spurs on its eastern extremity; from these, one could see down on the hot and lower regions of the tierras calientes, and the distant gulf bounded the view.—On the left, Cerro Gordo arose in its bulk near a thousand feet, and in front of that, to the east, the lower but lofty hill of Telegrafo stretched out its long extent, every foot of its surface under the plunging fire of the guns of Cerro Gordo.—Around the northern base of this, and of Cerro Gordo, ran a deep ravine, considered impassable.—At the narrow mouth of the pass, he established a battery of five cannon, bearing down its extent; the road was also ditched and barricaded; here, too, he stationed heavy bodies of infantry.—On the top of Cerro Gordo, to the left, were placed six pieces of artillery, and three thousand choice troops under Gen. Ampudia, with Gen. Vasquez as second in command.—On the hill to the right, along its brow, from the commencement of its ascent, at the mouth of the pass, to its termination on the first eastern spur, twelve hundred yards, all the way looking down on the road as it wound round the gorge, were breastworks lined with infantry, and a battery of three cannon

midway. These, together with the first eastern spur of the eminence, which overhung the road for half a mile, before it entered the pass, and on which were mounted seven pieces of artillery, was placed under the command of Gen. Romulus de la Vega.—The second, or central spur, separated from each of the others by a deep ravine, and being, by the sloping position of the ground for a mile in front of it, more easily approached, was stronger; with two lines of rock defense, mounting eight pieces of artillery, and supported by a force of two thousand men, consisting of the battalions of Zachapuistla and Hatlanque, a body of artillery of the line, and the piquets of Matamoras and Libertad—some of the oldest and best troops of the Mexican army.—This important post was commanded by Gen. Jose Maria Jarero, with Post Capt. Don Buenaventura Aranjo, a brave officer, second in command.

The third, and southern spur, flanked by the deep chasm, and fronting like the other two, on the same line to the east, was also defended by a stone breastwork, and mounted six pieces of artillery, part of them so disposed, as to bear upon a column advancing upon the central battery. This post was commanded by Gen. Luis Pinson.

In all his arrangements for the approaching conflict, the commander-in-chief displayed great generalship; and, with full confidence in their success, and with the knowledge, that upon the event of this battle was staked every hope of Mexico, the subordinate generals and the army awaited the approach of the daring invaders.

On the 8th of April, the advance of the Americans, under Gen. Twiggs, left Vera Cruz, on their march toward the interior. On the 10th, proceeded a large division under Maj. Gen. Patterson. On the 12th, Gen. Scott with the dragoons. On the 13th, the division of Gen. Worth followed, with the artillery; and on the 18th, the brigade of Gen Quitman brought up the rear.

Gen. Twiggs's force arriving at Plan del Rio, on the 11th, after a hot skirmish with the advance of the Mexican lancers, passed on until they were within direct gun-shot of the formidable intrenchments, without being aware of their existence—with such celerity and silence had Santa Anna made his arrangements.—Twiggs fell back to Plan del Rio, and awaited the approach of Patterson's division, which, followed by General Scott and Gen. Worth's division, soon arrived, and the two armies lay at a distance of five miles apart.

Santa Anna, his officers and soldiers, were now most active.—The general was over all parts of the field, again and again, directing all operations upon the various points for defense. The main attack he expected would be upon the right; for no one in his army dreamed that the lofty hill of Cerro Gordo could be stormed. Upon his right

the trees and brush were cut down for a distance of two hundred yards in front, and along the slope of the hill down to the road below. From this position, he could look directly down upon the American camp in the deep valley below; every movement there was perceptible to, and prepared for, by him.

Gen. Scott, on the other hand, was equally active. In addition to the reconnoisances made by Gen. Twiggs, others more daring, were completed by the engineers, and by Gen. Pillow in person. The result of these, from the nature of the ground, and the impossibility of approach by a small party was extremely unsatisfactory, but still enough for Gen. Scott to form his plan of attack. One important item, the artillery on the right, was undiscovered in these reconnoisances.—On the 17th of April, Gen. Twiggs advanced, cut a new road to the right of the main one, and crossing some ravines before deemed impassable, took possession of the hight of Telegrafo, the long and high hill in front, and below the lofty Cerro Gordo, the Mexican left. Santa Anna, from the latter hill, seeing this movement, sent a large force to regain Telegrafo.—A sharp action immediately took place, but the Americans retained possession of the important eminence; and during the night, reinforced by Gen. Shields's brigade, mounted on the hill, three 24 pounders, and the next morning, the 18th, opened a heavy upward fire upon the hight of Cerro Gordo.—Santa Anna was there, but left shortly afterwards, for his headquarters. Gen. Ampudia also left, leaving the post in command of Gen. Vasquez.

Soon after this firing had commenced, the Mexican lines were assailed in all parts, with the utmost impetuosity.—Gen. Pillow vigorously assaulted the strong right; Col. Harney, with Twiggs's brigade, ascended the hill of Cerro Gordo; Col. Riley, with the 2d brigade, winding round the base of that, attacked in rear the fortifications on the road; while Gen. Shields led his brigade still further round from the base and in the rear of the hill, and suddenly and violently assaulted the headquarters of Santa Anna himself, taking the seven gun battery, routing the Mexican infantry, and putting Gen. Canalizo's body of cavalry to a complete and disorderly flight.—Col. Harney, after experiencing a desperate resistance on the top of Cerro Gordo, carried it with the bayonet.—Col. Riley, after resistance equally strong, routed the forces at the entrance of the pass, and captured the battery there.

Gen. Pillow, on the right, furiously assaulted the strong works, and not dreaming of artillery, was received by such a destructive fire of canister shot, from eight pieces in front, five on the next battery to to his right, and four on the one to his left, and the fire of two thou-

sand muskets, that his foremost regiment, the 2d Tennessee, was swept away instantaneously.—More formidable preparations for another assault were immediately made; but, Generals La Vega, Pinson and Jarero, seeing that the hight of Cerro Gordo was carried, which commanded, from the left, and rear, their position, and that their retreat was entirely cut off, surrendered their whole forces prisoners of war; while the fugitives from the other parts of the field, fled along the Jalapa road, as rapidly as fear could urge them, followed and cut down, by the American dragoons and infantry.

Gen. Santa Anna barely escaped, on one of the mules of his carriage.—Gen. Ampudia with difficulty and by stratagem eluded the pursuit of the dragoons, which continued for sixteen miles.—Never was a battle more fully lost, never was a rout more complete, more final, more disastrous. The Mexican army was for the present annihilated. Gen. Canalizo's lancers passed through Jalapa, in fear and haste, where, a few days before, they had boasted, that each man would bring a captive enemy tied in triumph to his horse. The Mexican loss in this battle, was fifteen hundred killed and wounded, four thousand prisoners, including two hundred and eighty-five officers, and five generals, viz., Pinson, Jarero, La Vega, Noreiga, and Obando. Gen. Vasquez was killed at his post. Forty-two pieces of cannon, most of them brass, eight thousand stand of arms, many wagons and pack mules, and an immense *materiel* fell into the hands of the Americans. Sixteen thousand dollars in silver, was found in Santa Anna's carriage.

This result of the battle was so astounding, so unlooked for, by all parties in Mexico, that the utmost consternation and dread spread itself widely around.—The city of Jalapa immediately surrendered to the conquerors; the famous castle of Perote was found by the small division under Gen. Worth, who entered there on the 22d at noon, to be entirely deserted, save by Col. Velasquez, who had been left to deliver it into their hands. The splendid city of Puebla yielded on the advance of Worth, on the 15th of May; and there can be no doubt, that if Gen. Scott had continued his march immediately to the capital, he would have taken it without even a show of resistance. Indeed, nothing else was expected by the citizens of the city of Mexico, who for several days after, were thrown continually into the utmost terror, by reports that the Americans were coming.

The wretched survivors of the Mexican army, who reached the city, less than two thousand in number, brought with them, besides their woful, shattered appearance, the most exaggerated accounts of American prowess. Alarm and confusion reigned supreme; so completely had everything been staked upon the result of the battle of

Cerro Gordo, that now all were completely overwhelmed by the defeat. There was no army remaining, no artillery, no munitions of war, no generals.

Santa Anna escaped to the town of Orizaba, with a wretched remnant of fugitives; but to his great joy and relief, the American general advanced no further than Puebla, and reduced his forces, by discharging and sending home seven of his regiments—those who had enlisted for only twelve months, whose time as yet had not expired—a portion of his best troops.

The government of Mexico, though astounded by their reverses, yet made renewed efforts to stay the invaders. Referring to the history of Spain, their mother country, and noting the success of the guerilla, or partizan method of warfare there, when employed against the French in Napoleon's wars, they determined to rouse the whole country to form guerrilla bands, under partizan leaders, who should emulate one another in their endeavors to annoy the invaders in every possible manner. Santa Anna had before, when retreating from Buena Vista, commenced this scheme, and forwarded orders to the governors of states, prefectos of districts, and alcaldes of towns, to rapidly organise guerrilla bands, taking for this purpose all the available population. But not until after this battle, did the new cause receive much impetus. It was now determined on with enthusiasm. Gen. Salas was among the most conspicuous of its supporters; he issuing the following proclamation a few days after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and while Santa Anna was yet a fugitive at Orizaba.

PROCLAMATION.

The citizen, Mariana Salas, General of Brigade, and Colonel of the Regiment Hidalgo, to my fellow citizens:

"My friends: The present moment is the most proper to excite the public spirit, and form a nation of men truly free. When an enemy triumphs by his union, to rob us of our dearest interests, there is nothing more sure and more certain, than to vanquish him by valor and constancy.

"For this end, I have obtained permission to raise a Guerrilla Corps, with which to attack and destroy the invaders, in every manner imaginable. The conduct of the enemy, contrary both to humanity and natural rights, authorises us to pursue him without pity (*misericordia*). WAR WITHOUT PITY, AND DEATH! will be the motto of the guerrilla warfare of VENGEANCE. Therefore, I invite all my fellow citizens, especially my brave subordinates, to unite at General Headquarters, to enroll themselves, from nine until three in the afternoon, so that it may be organised in the present week.

[Signed] JOSE MARIANA SALAS."

These bodies of guerrillas were now rapidly formed. The following articles, issued by D. Miguel Orbe, the curate, or principal priest

of Huauchinango, who, with many of his brotherhood, now laid aside the "sword of the spirit" for more tangible weapons, the sabre, lance, and escopeta, are given as the terms upon which they were enrolled:

"He who subscribes this, pledges himself to the five following articles:

"1st. To die defending and avenging Our Lady of Guadalupe, and the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion which he professes.

"2d. To defend the integrity and independence of his nation.

"3d. To pursue, with death, the Anglo Americans, their followers, defenders or allies, whoever they may be.

"4th. To abjure and detest the personal party, of whoever have destroyed their country.

"5th. To respect all legitimate authority, whatever it may be, in every thing not repugnant to the preceding articles.

"These five articles shall be the fundamental rule of the guerrilla, and shall be denominated, *La Insurgente Gudalupana.*"

Leaving now the disturbed capital, the shattered army, the forming guerrilla bands, and the alarmed population, let us turn our attention back to some time previous to this, reviewing the movements of the American fleet, and of the disastrous operations of defense in Northern Mexico.

The port of Tuspan, situated about midway between Tampico and Vera Cruz, was now the only one of any note on the Gulf of Mexico, which had not fallen into the hands of the invaders; but this did not long remain an exception. Gen. Cos, whose name has been identified in connection with the invasions of Texas, now commanded the division of the Mexican army which were posted at and near this coast. His headquarters were at Tuspan; he had, at this time, near a thousand troops as a garrison for the place, the fortifications of which had been much improved and strengthened, by mounting the pieces of artillery which had been taken from the U. S. brig of war Truxton, of 10 guns, which had been wrecked at the mouth of Tuspan river, on the 15th of August previous.

On the 17th of April, the same day upon which the battle of Cerro Gordo commenced, the American fleet, consisting of the frigate Raritan, the sloops of war Albany, Germantown, John Adams, and Decatur, the steam frigate Mississippi, three smaller steamers, the Spitfire, Vixen, and Scourge, three schooners, the Bonita, Petrel, and Reefer, and three bomb vessels, the Etna, Vesuvius, and Hecla, appeared off the mouth of Tuspan river; and the following day, the 18th, the town, about five miles up the river, was attacked by the small steamers, the gun schooners, and heavy barges from the larger vessels. The forts

of La Pania, La Palma Sola, on the river, and the hospital fort in the town were captured, with eight pieces of artillery, three vessels and three launches. Gen. Cos and his forces precipitately retreated toward the interior. Of the guns found at Tuspan, all those which had belonged to the wrecked brig were carried off by the American fleet, the others were destroyed, while the town remained in possession, held by one of the vessels before it. The ports on the Gulf of Mexico were now all closed to the Mexicans. The American fleet was stationed along the coast, and kept up a vigorous blockade.

A little before this time, on the 31st of March, 1847, the spirits of the Mexican nation had been still further depressed, by the fall of Alvarado, the next port to the southeast of Vera Cruz, and also of the town of Flacotalpam, situated on the Alvarado river, above the former place. These towns, with their artillery, munitions of war, &c., surrendered to the United States' steamer of war Scourge, which, appearing off the bar of Alvarado river, on the night of the 30th, opened a brisk and effective fire upon the forts there, and renewed it upon the following morning, until a flag of truce was shown, when the steamer entered, passed up to the town, and the commander, Lieut. Charles G. Hunter, received the surrender of the place; immediately pursued a fleet of small vessels loaded with munitions of war, which were endeavoring to escape up the river; captured and burned two of them, and arriving at the town of Flacotalpam, summoned it, and received its surrender. The loss of Alvarado was more severely felt by the people of Mexico, because it had already twice successfully resisted the attacks of the whole American fleet; which, at this very moment, under Commodore Perry, was on its way to make a third attack, supported by a large division of the American army then on its march, under Gen. Quitman, from Vera Cruz. This large force of army and navy, arrived at the place shortly after its surrender. Alvarado was an important town, and the loss of that, preceded by Vera Cruz, and so soon followed by that of Tuspan, entirely stopped the passage of all supplies by this coast to the interior.

While these events had been transpiring in the southern and eastern parts of Mexico, the people of the states of Durango and Zacatecas were excessively alarmed by the approach of the victorious column of the enemy, which under Col. Doniphan, had twice defeated the Mexican forces, and for a considerable period established themselves in the wealthy city of Chihuahua. As they now moved to the southward to join Gen. Wool's column at Saltillo, every town on their route was deserted by the Mexican forces, and Durango was believed

to be especially the next object of their attack; but much to the relief of the inhabitants, they passed on, leaving the state entirely.

Disaster to the Mexican nation had rapidly followed disaster. In California they perceived with pain, that the efforts of the population to throw off the authority of their conquerors, had been destroyed by their complete defeat at Los Angelos, and that they had been forced to treat with their victors under Lieut. Col. Fremont, agreeing to retire peaceably to their homes, giving up their arms and artillery, and pledging themselves not again to partake in hostilities against the United States during the war. The nation of Mexico learned the determination of their victorious enemy to take permanently from them the valuable province of Upper California, as they had already taken that of New Mexico. This determination was rendered apparent to them by the following proclamation of Gen. Kearney, the military commander of the forces of the United States in California.

The Californians had excited this formidable insurrection, as has been mentioned in the former pages of this work, but had been defeated by Gen. Kearney in the action of San Pasqual, on the morning of Dec. 6th, 1846, and again, under their commander Gen. Jose Ma. Flores, were defeated by the combined forces of Commodore Stockton and Gen. Kearney, under the command of the latter at San Gabriel, on Jan. 8th, 1847, after a hard fight of one hour and a half, and were yet again defeated by the same force at Mesa, on the following day, Jan. 9th. Genl's. Flores and Pico, after their gallant effort to regain possession of their province from their invaders, having thus entirely failed therein, and learning that another body of the enemy, the California battalion under Lieut. Col. Fremont, four hundred strong, were near by on their march from the valley of Sacramento; and also that still another body equally strong, the Mormon battalion under Col. Cooke, were close at hand, after the long march of two thousand miles across the desert, which route Gen. Kearney himself had traveled; and that yet another regiment, one thousand strong, under Col. Stevenson, were on their way by sea from the United States, and would shortly arrive, seeing no hope for success, determined to save themselves, by capitulation of their forces; and immediately offered this to Gen. Kearney and Commodore Stockton; but these commanders would not receive such capitulation, on the ground that those thus making it had already broken their parole. Upon this repulse, the Mexican leaders rapidly advanced to meet Col. Fremont, and sending to him flags of truce and offers of capitulation, he, ignorant of the refusal of the other commanders, accepted their offers, and entered into articles of capitulation with them.

Thus ended the resistance to the invading forces of the United States in Upper California, and the whole province was now quietly in possession of that power.

PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA.

The President of the United States having devolved upon the undersigned the civil government of California, he enters upon the discharge of his duties with an ardent desire to promote as far as possible the interests of the country and well being of its inhabitants.

The undersigned is instructed by the President to respect and to protect the religious institutions of California, to take care that the religious rights of its inhabitants are secured in the most ample manner, since the Constitution of the United States allows to every individual the privilege of worshiping his Creator in whatever manner his conscience may dictate.

The undersigned is also instructed to protect the persons and property of the quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the country, against each and every enemy, whether foreign or domestic; and now assuring the Californians that his inclinations, no less than his duty, demand the fulfillment of these instructions, he invites them to use their best efforts to preserve order and tranquillity, to promote harmony and concord, and to maintain the authority and efficacy of the laws.

It is the desire and intention of the United States to procure for California as speedily as possible, a free Government like that of their own territories, and they will very soon invite the inhabitants to exercise the rights of free citizens in the choice of their own representatives, who may enact such laws as they deem best adapted to their interests and well being. But until this takes place, the laws actually in existence, which are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, will continue in force until they are revoked by competent authority; and persons in the exercise of public employments will for the present remain in them, provided they swear to maintain the said Constitution and faithfully to discharge their duties.

The undersigned by these presents absolves all the inhabitants of California from any further allegiance to the Republic of Mexico, and regards them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be respected and protected in their rights; but should any one take up arms against the Government of this territory, or join such as do so, or instigate others to do so—all these he will regard as enemies, and they will be treated as such.

When Mexico involved the United States in war, the latter had not time to invite the Californians to join their standard as friends, but found themselves compelled to take possession of the country, to prevent its falling into the hands of some European power. In doing this, there is no doubt that some excesses, some unauthorized acts were committed by persons in the service of the United States, and that in consequence some of the inhabitants have sustained losses in their property. These losses shall be duly investigated, and those who are entitled to indemnification shall receive it.

For many years California has suffered great domestic convulsions; from civil wars like poisoned fountains, have flowed calamity and pestilence over this beautiful region. These fountains are now dried up; the stars and stripes now float over California, and as long as the sun shall shed its light they will continue to wave over her, and over the natives of the country, and over those who shall seek a domicil in her bosom;

and under the protection of this flag agriculture must advance, and the arts and sciences will flourish like seed in a rich and fertile soil.

Americans and Californians! from henceforth one people. Let us then indulge one desire, one hope; let that be for the peace and tranquillity of our country. Let us unite like brothers, and mutually strive for the improvement and advancement of this our beautiful country, which within a short period cannot fail to be not only beautiful, but also prosperous and happy.

Given at Monterey, capital of California, this 1st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1847, and of the Independence of the United States the 71st.

S. W. KEARNEY, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
and Governor of California.

All these tidings of evil were now pouring in upon the Mexican government and people. Only one short year had elapsed since their numerous and powerful army in all its display of martial pomp, with fluttering banners, and triumphant music, had moved to the Rio Grande, with determination and all confidence to repress the advances of their northern enemy, and to re-conquer that fair and extensive country of Texas, which had been wrested from them. In this year reverse upon reverse, defeat upon defeat, had befallen them. At Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Brazito, Sacramento, San Diego, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and in a multitude of smaller actions, their armies had been defeated, their citizens slaughtered. Instead of the banners of the Mexican army moving in triumph on the banks of the Sabine, as they had fondly hoped, after traversing and subjugating Texas, and then being ready to inflict punishment upon the United States, that army had scarcely entered the confines of Texas, before they were driven from thence with defeat, slaughter, and disgrace. Their victors, in turn, had become their invaders; not only confirmed in the loss of Texas, they beheld within a few months, the extensive and valuable province of New Mexico in the hands of the Americans, not again to be returned to them; they saw too, following this loss, that of the fair province of California. They beheld all their generals defeated in their utmost exertions to hold their ground against their active foes; their northern cities in possession of the enemy, and the fairest provinces of the east traversed by the invading armies. Their every sea-port, fort, castle, and strong hold on one coast of Mexico was now in possession of the armies of the United States: while the powerful fleets of the latter, both in the gulf and Pacific, held in check every succor offered, and spread consternation on the coasts whenever their white sails appeared on the horizon. The famous castle of St. Juan De Ulloa, and the strong and rich city of Vera Cruz, the keys to the gulf, and the entrances to their capital, they saw but the depots of the enemy's *materiel*, the landing place of their forces.

But to the credit of the Mexican nation be it said, that at this dark hour they thought not of peace, but determined still more strongly to resist to the last what they regarded as oppression. Immediately after the disastrous battle of Cerro Gordo, on the 20th of April, in the midst of the alarm and confusion incident therefrom, the Mexican Congress, in extraordinary session, passed the following resolutions unanimously.

The sovereign constituent Mexican Congress, in use of the full powers with which the inhabitants of the republic have invested it for the sacred object of saving its nationality, and as a faithful interpreter of the firm determination with which its constituents are decided to carry on the war which the United States are now making on the nation, without desisting on account of any kind of reverses; and considering that under these circumstances the first public necessity is, that of preserving a center of union, to direct the national defense with all the energy that circumstances demand, and to avoid even the danger of a revolutionary power arising, which might dissolve the national union, destroy its institutions, or consent to the dismemberment of its territory, has determined to decree as follows:

Art. 1.—The supreme government of the union is authorized to dictate all necessary measures for the purpose of carrying on the war, defending the nationality of the republic, and saving the federal republican form of government under which the nation is constituted.

Art. 2.—The preceding article does not authorize the Executive to make a peace with the United States, conclude a negotiation with foreign powers, nor dispose, in whole or in part, of the territory of the republic.

Art. 3.—Neither does it authorize him to make contracts of colonization, impose punishments, nor confer any civil or military employments other than those whose appointments are expressly entrusted to him by the constitution.

Art. 4.—Every agreement or treaty shall be null and void which may be made between the United States and any authority whatever, which, subverting the actual order of affairs, should set aside or take the place of the legally established supreme powers of the union.

Art. 5.—Every individual is declared a traitor, let him be a private person, or public functionary, who, either in his private capacity or invested with any authority, incompetent or of revolutionary origin, may enter into treaties with the United States of America.

Art. 6.—In the event that the actual Congress finds it impossible to continue its sessions, a permanent committee shall be immediately installed, to be composed of the oldest individuals then found present of each deputation.

Art. 7.—This committee, in the absence of Congress, shall perform the duties of a government council; shall appoint, in case of vacancy, the person who is to take charge temporarily of the executive powers of the republic; shall regulate the counting and taking of the votes in the election of a new President: shall give possession to the elected person, and shall call together the national representation.

Art. 8.—The powers which the present decree confers on the government, shall cease as soon as the war is concluded.

CHAPTER II.

Santa Anna's flight—His accounts of the battle—Joined at Orizaba, by Gen. Leon—Efforts of the President Substitute, Anaya, to fortify the Capital—Decree of amnesty for political offenses—Liberty of the press restricted—City of Mexico declared in a state of siege—Disposition for defense—Proclamation of Governor Trigueros—Santa Anna marches for Puebla—His attack at Amazoque, upon Gen. Worth—His repulse—Puebla taken possession of by the Americans—Santa Anna arrives near the city of Mexico—Dissatisfaction of the populace—He tenders his resignation—Is admitted with his Army, and assumes the direction of the government.

Gen. Santa Anna, in flying from the fatal rout of Cerro Gordo with six of his aids, striking off to the left of the main road through the chapparal, was joined by about twenty-five fugitive lancers, and arrived at the hacienda of Tusamapa, on the night of the 18th; the next day he continued his flight to Orizaba. He was now in one of those unfortunate extremes of which his whole life has been so prolific;—reduced repeatedly to the last extremity, merely to rise again.—One day at the head of a powerful army, the next a fugitive with hardly a corporal's guard attending, and with the whole apparent voice of the nation united against him. Again we see him with larger armies than before;—men, arms, munitions of war, and money, raised so suddenly by his indomitable and almost incredible energy, that he seems several times almost to have executed the vain boast of Pompey of old, "that he had but to stamp his foot upon the ground, and an army would rise." By no means scrupulous in his employment of methods, in directing and governing a nation proverbial for dishonesty and chicanery, his actions to this end will not bear the test of justice or honor, but nevertheless have always been effectual to his purpose. Never despairing himself, he could infuse into his routed troops the same confidence. Having deceived the populace scores of times, they were still willing to be deceived again. The slightest temporary advantage that he gained was immediately transmitted to the capital, and magnified into great importance, while his severe reverses were covered over, and accounted for with such plausibility of false reasoning, and coloring of facts, that the

nation having only access to these, believed him still, in the main, victorious.

From the battlefield of Cerro Gordo, on the evening of the 17th, after the advance of the enemy, under Gen. Twiggs, had taken the hight of Telegrafo, Santa Anna writes a voluminous account of the action to President Anaya, claiming a victory, by reason of the main works not being attacked; making it appear that he had entirely repulsed the enemy from these. This dispatch was carried with all haste to the capital, and there produced its intended effect, of rejoicing and enthusiasm among the fickle populace.

From Orizaba, on the 22d of April, he writes the account of the action of the 18th, in which he magnifies the American force to double its actual strength, and reduces his own to one half its real complement. He finds fault with Gen. Canalizo for retreating, and blames part of his troops for their inexperience, &c.; but says not a word of his terrible loss of officers and men; promises to perform great exploits upon and against the rear of the enemy, and endeavors to excite still more strongly, the patriotism of the people.

He was joined at Orizaba, by Gen. D. Antonio Leon, with a fresh force of two thousand troops. He here also gave his full sanction to the movements of Salas and others, in forming guerrilla bands, and issued commissions to the officers. Being much in want of money, he exacted a loan of sixteen thousand dollars from the citizens of Orizaba, and made an energetic appeal to President Anaya for more funds, and also arms. This demand was partially granted by the president substitute; not, however, until after a difficulty with Gen. Bravo, the military commander of the city of Mexico and surrounding federal district; this general not being willing to spare anything from the city, which might contribute to its defense against the enemy.

On the 27th, fortifications were commenced rapidly at the city gates. On the same day, President Anaya issued a proclamation granting a full and unconditional pardon and amnesty, for all political offenses, and urged upon the people of Mexico the necessity of uniting against the common foe, now threatening the capital. Contributions of private individuals were given liberally toward the casting of cannon; and in many places the bells of the churches were presented by the ecclesiastical to the civil power, for this purpose; but, of the vast wealth of gold and silver possessed by the church, these dignitaries refused to yield any portion towards relieving the pressing emergencies of the government.

President Anaya and Gen. Bravo, seconded by Don Ignacio Tri-

gueros, the governor of the city, acted with great energy in their measures for placing the capital in a proper condition of defense. On the 5th of May, the city was declared to be in a state of siege; and, as a main object of the government was to give full confidence to the people of their ability to defend it, and as some of the papers of the day had criticised severely the conduct of Santa Anna, Ampudia, Canalizo, Morales, Landero, Miñon, Heredia, Garcia Condé, and in fact, every leader, whose fortune it had been to encounter the everywhere conquering invaders, a decree was issued at this time by the president substitute, which, after declaring that the abuse of the liberty of the press had been scandalous, that the papers had promoted desertions, distrust and disunion in the army, and in the minds of the citizens, and the enemy had thus been indirectly assisted, and the defense of the country been rendered every day more difficult; he forbade the insertion thereafter, in any paper, of any remark or communication calculated to cast censure upon the supreme authorities, or in any way to throw the least discredit upon the Mexican army, or upon its commanders; and positively prohibited the press from engaging in any political or military discussions whatever; and these regulations to continue while the capital remained in a state of siege.

The press, by this order, was completely muzzled, and the people no longer heard of disasters, which from every quarter assailed by the Americans, were coming upon them; but, on the contrary, were continually encouraged and gratified, by the most false and extravagant accounts of Mexican prowess and success, on the one hand, and American loss and disaster on the other.

On the 7th, three decrees were issued by Gen. Bravo: one ordering, under severe penalties for noncompliance, all persons having in their possession, as private property, arms of any description, to produce and give them up for the use of the nation, taking therefor a certificate of value, receivable in payment of public dues.

The second decree ordered, that every person owning or possessing more than one horse, should place them at the disposal of the government, receiving for their value a like certificate; no person, on any consideration being allowed to keep but one. These decrees offered liberal rewards to any one who should inform upon any other who failed to comply with the provisions thereof.

The third decree was the more important, as it forced the whole available population into the ranks of defense, and showed the spirit and resolution with which the government of Mexico were determined to resist in their most important stronghold, the attack of the Americans. It will be seen, that no one was excused from active service.

This decree was made known by Governor Don Ignacio Trigueros, in the form of the following

PROCLAMATION.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE CENTER,
Mexico, May 6, 1847.

The Federal District of this State being declared in a state of siege, it becomes my duty to comply with the 6th article of the law of the 26th of April last; and, in order to meet the anxious wishes of the patriotic citizens of this city to arm themselves to repel our unjust invaders, I hereby, in conformity with the powers in me vested, ordain:

1. That all Mexican citizens, of the age of fifteen to sixty years, residing in the Federal District, will present themselves for enrollment at the place in their quarter or section which may be designated by the municipal authorities.

2. The Selectmen of the city, and those who in the other settlements of the district exercise their functions, will, on receipt of this decree, designate in their respective quarters or sections the place where the enrollment is to be made; presiding over them either in person or by substitutes.

3. The same functionaries will, within six days from the publication of this decree, deliver unto the chief of the staff a register, containing in regular order the age, profession or occupation, residence, and whether single or married, of all Mexicans of the ages of fifteen to sixty years, who may reside in their quarter or section.

4. In conformity with these returns, the persons enlisted will be divided into two classes—one class containing the unmarried and the widowers without children, from the age of fifteen to forty years; and the other class the married men and the widowers having family, and also bachelors from forty to sixty years.

5. From those enlisted will be formed as many battalions of each class as there may be in each quarter or section. Should any remain over, they may be formed into one or more companies or squadrons, according to their number.

6. The force of these battalions is to be in accordance with the law of the 12th of June, 1846.

7. The General-in-Chief will appoint the person who, during the state of siege in which this district may find itself, shall command the battalions and companies formed by this decree, and whose functions shall cease as soon as the siege is raised.

8. Every enlisted citizen shall receive a certificate proving his enlistment, signed by the commander of the corps to which he may be attached, and by the Selectmen of his quarter or section, and countersigned by the chief of the staff of the General-in-Chief.

9. Of the bodies which may be formed in each quarter or section there will be created, according to their number, one or more brigades, to be commanded by a person to be designated by the General-in-Chief.

10. All citizens will attend daily drill, and will perform such other duties as may be ordered, under the penalties established by law.

11. Whoever, at the approach of the enemy, the beat of the drum, or at the sound of any other signal calling to the common defense, shall not present himself at the place to which he may be ordered, or shall show cowardice, lukewarmness or indifference, or shall abandon the post in which he may be placed as guard or sentinel, fail in respect to his superiors, or commit any other military crime, shall be punished according to the ordinances.

12. Whoever shall, in order to escape enlistment, conceal his age, either by exaggerating or diminishing it, shall be looked upon as a traitor, and will be punished accordingly.

13. The authority or person who shall in any manner cover or aid in concealing the crime specified in the preceding article, will be subject to the same punishment.

14. Whoever shall hide himself and shall not have the certificate mentioned in Article No. 8, will be enrolled in the regular army.

15. The bodies created by the decree are destined solely and exclusively to repel the invaders and to maintain order, and will render services to that effect according to the law of 26th April last.

16. All who are enrolled and perform active duties as members of the National Guard, or who may be serving in garrison, will be exempt from serving in these bodies.

17. Owners of hotels, inns and boarding houses, must make a daily return of the persons who enter their houses, and of those who leave, under the penalties established by law.

All of which I communicate to your Excellency for speedy publication in this capital and settlements in this district. God and Liberty. NICOLAS BRAVO.

To Don Ignacio Trigueros, Governor of the Federal District.

Santa Anna having in the short period of twenty days, again raised a respectable force, consisting of about three thousand men, on the 6th of May commenced his march for the city of Puebla, where he arrived on the 11th. On the 12th, while engaged in the distribution of supplies to his soldiers, the information was brought to him of the advance of a division of Americans, under Gen. Worth, followed by another, under Gen. Quitman. He immediately marched out, and at Amazoque attacked Worth, but being too weak to effect his object, he retired with the loss of about ninety killed and wounded. Leaving then the city of Puebla to the invaders, and unable to resist the torrent setting against him, he continued his retreat to San Martin Texmalucan, on the road toward the capital, and thence to Ayotla, twenty miles from Mexico; here he was compelled to halt on account of the murmurings of the populace, who supposed by this movement, that the intention of the commander-in-chief was to defend the capital within its own walls; a measure, which, if adopted, they said, would bring destruction on their families and property.

Halting here, therefore, on the 18th of May he dispatched to the minister of war, within the city, a long communication, in which he referred to these murmurs, recapitulated his own actions in behalf of the nation since his return from exile, complained of the distrust and enmity exerted toward himself personally, declared his willingness to yield up his fortune and his life, if needed, to save the nation, &c. He recommended most energetically, that every measure be taken for the defense of the city; and finally, directed the minister to lay this communication before Anaya, the president substitute, and if his views

should not be recognised by that officer, further directed, that his resignation of the offices of first magistrate of the Republic, and commander-in-chief of the army, be immediately tendered, and his passports forwarded to him.

On the 18th, Don Manuel Maria de Sandoval, the minister of war, replies to him, that his excellency Anaya coincided with his views, and invited him to take formal possession of the capital with his army —which then was immediately done.

CHAPTER III.

Approach of the Mexican Army to the city of Mexico—Murmurs of the Populace—Tender of Resignation by Santa Anna—Non-acceptance of the same by the Mexican Congress—Coalition of the separate States—Withdrawal of the Revenues of the General Government—Dictatorial powers of the President—Deposition and imprisonment of opposing Generals—Progress of the Fortifications—Arrival at the Capital of the force of Gen. Alvarez—Renewal of restrictions on the Press—Silence of the Peace Party—Mediation of the English Minister, and the reception by Santa Anna, of Propositions for Peace from the United States—Action of Congress thereon—Convocation of a Council of Army Officers—Their Decision—Gen. Valencia's force arrives from San Luis Potosi.

The army entered the city upon the next day, the 20th; Santa Anna assumed the supreme command, and Anaya retired into privacy. The first act of the president's renewed administration was to repeal the decree of restrictions, which Anaya had placed upon the liberty of the press. The next was, on the 21st, for the president and members of congress to swear to observe the new constitution, founded on that of 1824. Much parade was exhibited to the populace on this occasion; the congress, in procession, accompanied by the commander-in-chief, and an imposing escort, passed through the principal streets of the city to the cathedral, where a "Te Deum" was sung, to give due solemnity to the act. The president then proceeded to apply all his energies to the requisite preparations for the defense of the capital; and in a few days, these endeavors, in addition to the previous ones of Anaya, had placed an army of ten thousand men at his control, with their numbers continually increasing. One body of these, on whom he relied much, was composed entirely of deserters from the Americans, who had been induced, by the promises of his proclamations, to come over to the cause of Mexico.

But, while this success attended the extraordinary efforts of the commander-in-chief, another difficulty arose, in the renewed murmurs of the populace, with respect to the burdens imposed upon them in constructing the formidable series of defenses, which he commenced at the Peñon, eight miles from the city, Mexicalzingo, in the same neighborhood, and other places. A strong party, too, within the city, at heart tired of war, secretly opposed his efforts.

On the 20th, either weary of his arduous duties, or wishing more firmly to establish himself (and judging from his actions and character, most probably the latter), he tenders to congress, in a long and ably written document, his resignation of the offices of president of the Republic, and commander-in-chief of the army. In this communication, he takes care, as usual, to recapitulate his services since his return, laments his condition, but more particularly that of his country, congratulates himself upon having in so short a time, placed the capital in a state of defense sufficient to withstand all the force the enemy could then bring against it, and declares that he has done his duty, and that now forever he renounces public life. This resignation was immediately followed by that of Gen. Bravo, the commander of the troops in the city, and also by that of Gen. Rincon. Gen. Almonte was arrested, on a charge of having a correspondence with the enemy; and Gen. Arista, then under arrest, and on his trial before a court martial, for the surrender of Matamoras, a year previous, was set at liberty, to assist in the preparations for defense, while all proceedings against him were suspended.

The Mexican congress, however, as Santa Anna probably had foreseen, would not accept his resignation at this juncture; all saw in him as the commander, their only hope of resisting the invaders in their attack soon expected on the city, and insisted upon his retaining the direction of affairs and the command of the army. And thus, this extraordinary man, had, in less than six weeks after the battle of Cerro Gordo, not only regained his former standing with the people, but placed his power more securely than before—raised an army nearly equal to his first, and had replaced his losses with a success which would have appeared at first view wholly impossible.

But the Americans did not move against the capital as soon as its alarmed inhabitants anticipated. Several weeks elapsed, before they prepared to leave the beautiful and populous city of Puebla, in their onward march. Every moment of this time was improved by the commander-in-chief of the Mexicans, his soldiers, and the populace, to add to the strength of the fortifications. A spirit of enthusiasm was aroused, and they performed the labor and daily drills with pleasure, and gained confidence, that in the approaching struggles for the possession of the city, they should be victorious.

But at this important crisis, many of the states of the republic seemed only anxious to preserve themselves from the impending danger, and withdrew their aid from the central government. A coalition was formed at Lagos, on June 6th, by deputies from the States of Jalisco, San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, Mexico, and Queretero, and the sec-

tion of Aguas Calientes, claiming to be a state, by which these combined for mutual defense; opposed themselves decidedly to peace, but united their efforts to act independently of the central government in repelling the invaders, although to that government they promised assistance. To embarrass the supreme executive still more, while Zacatecas, a powerful state, refused to furnish a single battalion of soldiers, or the least pecuniary aid for the defense of the capital of the republic, that of Jalisco proceeded another step, in diverting the revenues arising from the tobacco monopoly within her limits, from the central government, and appropriating it to herself. Anarchy now prevailed in the Mexican Republic to a greater extent than ever had been known before.

The war was still carried on, if predatory attacks on the trains, and small parties of the enemy, could be dignified by the name of warfare, by partisan leaders commanding small forces, and responsible to no higher authority, and actuated by nought save the hope of plunder; and even these operations were confined to the immediate vicinity of the national road, from Vera Cruz to Puebla. The inhabitants of other sections of country regarded every movement with apathy, talked loudly of glory, opposed all their influence to any peace with the enemy, but did not lift a finger to assist the struggling, tottering government, now unable to inforce its decrees, save at the capital. The large revenue derived from the duties on exportation of the precious metals from the mining districts of Zacatecas, was wholly withdrawn, by the faithless officers applying it to their own use, or permitting, for want of power or disposition to prevent, the metals to be smuggled off on the western coast, in the most public manner, by English ships. Revenues from the custom houses of the seaports and frontier, had been for some time at an end. But, deprived of all these resources, surrounded by faithless friends and treacherous subordinates, Gen. Santa Anna roused all his energies, and directed all his power to the one purpose—that of saving the city of Mexico from the possession of the Americans.

At this time, he was clothed with nearly the authority of a dictator. By the decree of congress of the 20th of April (see page 490), which was construed to its utmost latitude, all the restriction placed upon the absolute power of the President, consisted in these items—Having no authority to conclude a peace with the United States;—none to conclude negotiations with foreign powers;—none to alienate any portion of the territory of the republic, or to enter into contracts for the colonization of any part thereof;—none to impose any punishment, or to confer any new civil or military employment, other than those

recognized by the constitution.—These restrictions were more nominal than otherwise. Santa Anna made a vigorous use of the extraordinary powers conferred upon him. On the 2d of June, he withdrew his tender of resignation to congress, alledging as his reasons therefor, that when he offered it, the enemy were not advancing from Puebla, but that, now having heard of his resignation, they were about to do so;—adding also, that a multitude of applications had poured in upon him from all classes of the population, beseeching him to continue to hold the reins of government, as the only person capable of saving the republic in the present emergency.

He was now emphatically "the government," the master mind to whose dictates the congress, populace and army, bowed. He formed a new cabinet of Tornel, Rejon, Ibarra and Baranda;—but these he retained a few days only, and changed his ministers in rapid succession. Congress now throwing the whole burden of defense upon him, rarely found a quorum (seventy-one) of its members in their places, by which to do business,—and indeed, such a quorum was only found when the President wished a measure passed to aid him in the execution of his authority or seat him more firmly in power. In a few days after the withdrawal of his resignation, he, finding that he was not the successful candidate in the election for President, which had been held by the different states on the 15th of May, and the votes for which were to have been counted by congress on the 15th of June, by a singular stroke of policy induced the passage of a decree through that body postponing the counting of the votes until January, 1848;—thus giving him full authority until that time.* In his gigantic schemes for the defense of the city, in which he seemed almost to create *materiel*, he spared for himself and his subordinate officers no time or labor. Those of the latter whose efforts did not second promptly the directions of his energetic mind, were removed, imprisoned, or banished. Among those thus proscribed within the space of a few days, were Generals Bravo, Rincon, Miñon, Canalizo, Urrea, Garcia Condé, Requena, Morales, Almonte, Ampudia and Arista. The latter was sent to close confinement in the castle of Acapulco, on the Pacific. Ampudia was banished from the capital

* The result of this election had been as follows: Aguas Calientes, Sonora, Sinatoa and Tamaulipas, voted for Gen. Almonte. Querétaro, Oajaca and Michoacàn, for Gen. Herrera. Mexico, Guanajuato and San Louis Potosi, voted for Senor Angel Trias. Puebla, for Sr. Ocampo. Chiapas, for Sr. Anaya. Chihuahua, for Gen. Santa Anna. Durango, for Sr. Elorriaga. Zacatecas voted for Sr. Lafragua. Jalisco, Coahuila, Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Yucatan, New Leon, the Californias, and New Mexico, did not vote.

to Cuernavaca, while Rincon, whose offense, like that of Bravo, consisted in expressing his opinion that a defense of the capital against the Americans could terminate only in disaster and defeat—by changing his expressions, recovered the favor of the President, and was restored to his command. Bravo by following the same course was also restored. The places of those of this list of general officers, as well as many inferior ones, who did not in like manner recover their standing, were filled by others anxious to execute the mandates of the President, and dependent on him, many of them having newly given commissions; eight hundred and thirty-five of these being issued in the course of a single month from the 24th of May.

Governor Trigueros resigned the direction of affairs within the city, and his place was quickly filled by the President, who appointed Ignacio Gutierez, governor of Mexico, in his stead. That general also was directed to take charge of the fortifications already mentioned as erecting by command of Santa Anna, at the Peñon, a hill within the limits of the federal district, and which commanded the neck of land between lakes Texcuco and Xochilmilco, over which came the road from Puebla, the main thoroughfare to the city. Beside the fortifications at the Peñon and Mexicalzingo, another hill on the same neck, other strong works were erecting at Chalco, Ayotla, Guadalupe, Chapultepec, Molino del Rey, Churubusco, and all other assailable points on and at the termination of the long causeways that enter the city in various directions. These fortifications, under the command of Generals Gaona, Martinez, Polomina, Anaya, the former president-substitute, and other officers, were constructed by the combined efforts of the citizens and of the troops; overlooked by the untiring vigilance of Santa Anna himself. To labor on these defenses, the *leperos*, or immense beggarly population of the city, were driven at the point of the bayonet. Upon these works the artillery was rapidly mounted, of which already seventy pieces had arrived from Acapulco, San Luis Potosi, and other places; while from the extra bells of the city many more had been cast at Chapultepec and at Toluca;—every foundry in and about the city was compelled, night and day, to continue the manufacture of shot and shell.

On the 6th of June the command of General Alvarez, who before this time had been for years nearly independent of the general government, in the south of Mexico, arrived at the capital with a force of nearly eight thousand men. These, with the troops that had arrived from other places, swelled the army of Santa Anna to upward of thirty thousand. In this number were included many officers, and large bodies of soldiers, who had been taken prisoners by the Americans at

Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo; and liberated, on their parole given, not to serve again during the war. This parole they were compelled to break, and were forced into the ranks. This number included also the Guardia Nacional (National Guard), or rather, militia of the city, which, with other battalions of the same nature, formed rather more than one third the force. With the arms that had been collected in the city, and those procured by vigorous efforts from other sections, a sufficient supply was obtained for the equipment of this body: considerable sums of money, too, had been obtained by the commander.

It will be remembered, that one of the first acts of Santa Anna, when reassuming the direction of government, after his return from the battle of Cerro Gordo, was to annul the decree of Anaya, which restricted the liberty of the press; but now his course was altered; the papers of the city had reviewed the battle of Cerro Gordo in a severe and condemnatory manner; and had also spoken of the president's banquet, given to his friends on his birth-day, the 13th, in terms not complimentary to him, as a patriot, in a suffering community; they had also loudly condemned his arbitrary proceeding with regard to the generals imprisoned or banished from the capital; but more immediately, had severely reviewed his action in creating and promoting so many officers, for their participation in the former battles, pronounced by them to be disgraceful and ruinous. Santa Anna, finding their influence strong against him, yielded to their remonstrances, in behalf of the imprisoned generals, and on the 14th June issued a decree granting amnesty for all political offenses; but having yielded this point, finding them still more bold in their opposition, on the 18th he arrested several of the editors, and packed them off, *sans ceremonie*, to Acapulco and San Luis Potosi; he then established a severe censorship over the whole press, forbidding the appearance of any article reflecting upon the generals, or on the army itself, or on the measures of government; or any items upon the progress of the formidable fortifications constructing, as the knowledge contained in these became immediately known to the Americans. Finding these restrictions not sufficiently to answer his purpose, on the 11th of July he suppressed the issuing of all the papers in the capital, save the "*Diario del Gobierno*," which published only such matter as was agreeable to himself.

Having thus arbitrarily silenced all opposition, Santa Anna turned again his undivided attention to the defenses, while not an opponent in the city dared to open his lips against any measure adopted. The governor of the state of Puebla remonstrated against the act of General Canalizo's taking military jurisdiction over the civil power of that

state; but, acting under the command of Santa Anna, and supported by General Alvarez, who with part of his force had moved as a corps of observation upon the enemy, Canalizo paid no attention to the governor's remonstrance. The peace party, which, while the President had allowed the liberty of the press, had increased in numbers, and had boldly spoken their sentiments through their paper, *El Razonador*, now were heard from no more. The slightest intimation of such an opinion consigned him who entertained it to a prison.

In this state were now the city of Mexico and the Mexican army, expecting an attack from the invaders, on or about the last of that month (June), when a new turn was given to their prospects by the submittal to the President, through the English minister, of propositions of peace from the government of the United States, with the information, also, that a commissioner, N. P. Trist, clothed with all necessary powers to conclude such a peace, was in the camp of Gen. Scott, at the city of Puebla, and awaited the action of the Mexican government. As this was beyond the province of Santa Anna, it was referred to the action of the Mexican congress, but was for many days untouched for want of a quorum. This quorum of members of congress could not be assembled, to act upon the propositions of peace until the 13th of July; when, seventy-four members having met, the subject was laid before them. They, after a short consultation, being determined to throw all the responsibility on Santa Anna, passed a resolution to this effect—that it belonged to the executive, under the constitution, to receive all ministers, and other public agents, and to make treaties of peace, alliances, &c.; that the functions of congress were limited to the approving or disapproving of these treaties, when made, and that, consequently, until a treaty should be submitted in due form, congress could take no constitutional action on the subject.

Having passed this resolution, the members of congress individually withdrew; nor could they again, at that time, be collected by the President, who, finding himself in an awkward dilemma, issued a proclamation, stating to the people the action of congress in the matter, and complaining that his own hands were tied by the decree of 20th April, which not only positively forbade him from making a treaty with the Americans, but declared any person a traitor who should do so;—he recommended the repeal of this decree, stating, that as the letter of the American minister was courteous, the dignity of the Mexican nation required that an answer should be given to it, &c. This proclamation had no effect; the members of congress had scattered, determined to take no part of the responsibility thus resting on Santa

Anna, for peace or war. He, however, to shift some part of the same from himself, called a council of general officers of the army, and placed the subject before them. This council, thus without precedent called upon to act upon such a momentous subject, decided "that it was inexpedient to enter into negotiations for peace, until another opportunity should be offered to Mexico to retrieve her fortunes in the field."

The commander-in-chief, adopting their decision, in fault of one from congress, the constitutional authority, dismissed informally the propositions of peace, which had been before him for near a month. In a few days after this decision, on the 31st of July, his force was increased by the arrival of General Valencia from San Luis, with five thousand troops of the line and thirty-six pieces of artillery, all eager for the approaching contest. The army now at the city amounted to thirty-two thousand men, well armed and equipped; of these over twenty thousand were regular troops: in position, he had one hundred and seventeen pieces of artillery. Valencia, who had thus opportunely arrived, had left San Luis Potosi, with his division, upon his own responsibility. He had succeeded General Villamil in command of the army stationed there to prevent the southward movement of the North American force, then at Saltillo and Monterey, under General Taylor. Finding no probability of the latter general advancing, Valencia, with his force, moved on to the capital, where, shortly after his arrival, he found work to do. But, leaving the consideration of the city of Mexico, now fully prepared for the expected attack of the Americans, let us turn to the operations, in the mean time, of the guerrillas, on the route from Vera Cruz to Puebla; the capture of Tobasco, &c., all happening before the time to which the termination of this chapter has brought us.

CHAPTER IV.

Movements of Guerrilla Forces—Padre Jarauta's attack upon the Train under Col. McIntosh—Americans reinforced by Gen. Cadwallader—Americans evacuate Jalapa—Defeat of Guerrillas, at La Hoya—Capture of Tobasco—Expected movement of Gen. Taylor toward San Luis Potosi—Release of Prisoners by Santa Anna—Sent to Tampico—Received by Gen. Garay—Attempted Rescue—Defeat, &c.

Supported by General Alvarez, near Puebla, the guerrilla forces, under Padre Jarauta, an enthusiastic priest, and Juan Chimaco Rebolledo, an active partisan leader from Jalapa, made vigorous attacks upon all detached parties of the enemy, and harassed every train and command on its way from the coast, at Vera Cruz, to join the headquarters of the Americans at Puebla. The road, as it passed around the bases of the mountains, or through deep and lonely glens and mountain-passes, offered, at various points, favorable situations for ambuscades and surprises. Aware, from their friends in Vera Cruz, of the time when any train of the enemy would start from the latter place, also of its strength and contents, their preparations were made accordingly.

On the 6th of June, Padre Jarauta attacked a large train, under the command of Col. M'Intosh, carrying several hundred thousand dollars in specie, with an escort of five hundred infantry and dragoons, at a point about twenty miles from Vera Cruz, and six from the National Bridge. The result of this attack was highly satisfactory to the guerrillas. They drove back the advance of the enemy—attacked the main body vigorously both in front and flank—captured twenty-eight wagons, two hundred pack-mules, and seventy-five thousand dollars worth of army stores, with a loss to the Americans of forty killed and wounded, while the guerrillas suffered but little. The shattered train collected itself together, and would have fallen entirely into their hands, but for the rapid march of another body of the enemy to their aid, under General Cadwallader, five hundred strong, with two pieces of artillery, from the gates of Vera Cruz. That general, taking the command of the Americans, Jarauta and Rebolledo were disappointed in their efforts to make any further serious impression upon them, not so much from the fact of their reinforced strength, for the guerrilla force

were more than correspondingly increased by the accession of all the available population of that whole section of country, but by the able arrangements of Cadwallader, and the firm front of the Americans, now with their confidence restored.

Jarauta's vexation was further increased at this time, by the escape of a minor train of the enemy, not two hundred strong, which unbeknown to him was advancing from the opposite direction, going to Vera Cruz. This little train, aware of its danger, pushed on in the night, crossed the national bridge with a loss of only five men, and arrived safely in McIntosh's camp, immediately before the arrival of Cadwallader from the opposite course.

Driving off the pack mules, securing part of the plunder from the captured wagons, and destroying the latter, the guerrillas fell back, and made a strong stand at the hights of the national bridge, where, after a lapse of four days, on June 10th, they were vigorously attacked in their turn by Cadwallader's forces. The defense of the hight was firm; but the invaders, by the assistance of their artillery, cleared the ground, with a loss to the Mexicans of forty men. Jarauta retreated, and again attacked Cadwallader near Cerro Gordo; but, overcoming all obstacles, the American commander, fighting foot by foot, reached Jalapa, and joined his forces to the garrison there. Although thus disappointed, Padre Jarauta did not relax his exertions; but stimulating his men with the hope of complete victory, and encouraging them by a recital of the partial success which had thus attended them, and exhorting them, even by their religious enthusiasm, to give no quarter to the heretical invaders, he made immediate preparations for another assault, provided now as he was, with captured ammunition, arms, and stores.

On the 17th of June, another force of the Americans, under Maj. Gen. Pillow, of 1800 men, with six field pieces and one hundred and twenty-five wagons, issued from the gates of Vera Cruz, on their march to the interior. This column suffered much from the heat of the sun in toiling over the sand hills in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, and when over them, were immediately assaulted by the guerrillas in waiting.

Jarauta kept up this attack daily upon the heavy column, causing it much loss, until at Calera, nine miles beyond the national bridge, he assaulted it with all his strength, but was repulsed with a loss of nearly one hundred men: he continued to harass the enemy, until the column had passed Cerro Gordo, and arrived near Jalapa. Here leaving the enemy to be attacked on the road between Jalapa and Perote by Gen. Alvarez, this indefatigable military priest returned to the vicinity

of Vera Cruz. and visiting the country above Alvarado, was near being captured by the American governor of that place. Capt. Mayo, hearing of him, had promptly ascended the river in the U. S. steamer of war Petrita, with a force, in pursuit; but the wily priest escaped.

Gen. Scott having directed the concentration of his forces, the city of Jalapa was evacuated by the American garrison of twelve hundred men, under Col. Childs, on June 17th. That officer uniting his force to that of Gen. Cadwallader, the column, then two thousand two hundred strong, with six pieces of artillery, marched for Perote, surprised and routed on its march the guerrilla forces at the pass of La Hoya, on the 20th. The guerrillas fought well, but were also exposed to an attack of a force of Americans, from the castle of Perote, in their rear; they were completely routed, and Cadwallader's command arrived without loss at Perote, where it remained until joined by that of Gen. Pillow, which passed through Jalapa after its evacuation. The two bodies united, were of such strength, that no resistance was made to their further advance to Puebla.

On the 16th, the city of Tobasco, against which an unsuccessful attempt had before been made, fell into the hands of the invaders; being taken by the naval force under Commodore Perry, who, with a squadron, composed of the war steamers Spitfire, Scorpion, Vixen, and Scourge, the bomb vessels Etna, Vesuvius, and Stromboli, brig Washington, and schooner Bonita, appeared off the mouth of Tobasco river on the 15th, and proceeded up, arriving before the town on the 16th, after having landed below a thousand seamen and marines, with ten pieces of artillery. The Mexican forces retreated after one volley, though the forts kept up the fire upon the steamers for some time afterward. Much pains had been taken to place Tobasco in a proper state of defense; the points for which had been admirably chosen, but were not defended with gallantry. Under the regulations of a tariff established by themselves, the Americans opened this, together with the other captured seaports, to the commerce of the world.

Tobasco, however, after being occupied for six weeks by the Americans, was abandoned on account of its unhealthiness. Every port on the gulf, from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Yucatan, was before this in possession of the enemy; while those on the Pacific were under a vigorous blockade.

The American army in the northern provinces, under Gen. Taylor, was daily expected to move to the southward, to join that of Gen. Scott, taking in its route the populous city of San Luis Potosi. To oppose such a movement the Mexican army of the north was

stationed in the city of San Luis Potosi, and Gen. Valencia appointed to the command, which he assumed on the 5th of June.—Gen. Mora y Villamil, who had before been in the command of this army, was ordered to the capital.—A short, pithy, and not very pleasant correspondence had been carried on by the latter general with Gen. Taylor; in which he, on May 10th, by authority of President Anaya, under a flag of truce, inquires of General Taylor, "Whether his (Taylor's) wishes and instructions are to prosecute the war in conformity to the laws of nations, and as war is conducted by civilized nations, or as barbarous tribes carry it on among themselves; it being understood, that Mexico is disposed and resolved to accept the manner which is proposed or carried out, and awaits the result, in order to dictate its measures accordingly."

To this singular and impertinent inquiry, the bluff old American general immediately responded, in a communication dated May 19th, by expressing his surprise at the interrogation, declining to give a direct answer to a question so insulting—refers to his own acts, and those of his army—speaks of the single massacre of Mexicans as having been immediately preceded by one of those cold-blooded acts of assassination of American soldiers, which had followed each other successively, from the time the American troops first entered upon the soil of Mexico, and finally, throws back the threat contained in the close of Villamil's letter, &c.

The government of Mexico had neglected to perform its stipulations entered into between Santa Anna and Gen. Taylor after the battle of Buena Vista, with regard to the exchange of prisoners, and had left those prisoners in confinement, in the city of Mexico, until the present month June,—although more than 10,000 Mexican prisoners had, in the mean time, been liberated by Gen. Scott, after the capitulation of Vera Cruz and the battle of Cerro Gordo. Now, while it was determined to liberate these American prisoners, by a singular act of Mexican faith, the government released the soldiers alone, keeping the officers still in captivity. On the 5th of June, these soldiers, one hundred and eighty in number, were sent from the city toward Tampico under charge of a Mexican colonel, and about twenty lancers. Although the American army was nearer at Puebla, this long route to Tampico was selected, rather than deliver them to swell the ranks of Gen. Scott. Their being sent toward Tampico, led afterwards to an engagement between the Mexican forces near that city and a part of the American garrison, the result of which, being unfavorable to the Americans, who were driven back into the city with a loss of one fourth their number, greatly elevated the spirits of the Mexican nation,

being blazoned at the capital as a great victory achieved over the invaders.—The body of prisoners after twelve days march arrived at Huejutla, one hundred and twenty miles in the interior from Tampico. Here they were delivered over to Gen. Garay, in command of the Mexican forces there.—That officer detained them, treated them kindly, and sent back to the capital for instructions concerning them. Impatient of this delay, eight of them escaped, and after a variety of adventures arrived in Tampico. Learning that the remainder were thus detained, Col. Gates, commander of that city, immediately dispatched a force of one hundred and twenty men, with a field piece, under command of Col. De Russey, to rescue them. This Quixotic expedition, leaving Tampico on 12th July, was allowed by Gen. Garay to advance four days march, until, at Rio Calaboso, at a point midway between Huejutla and Tancayoca, eight miles from each, he had his numerous troops stationed in ambush, and suddenly attacked the Americans in front; quickly followed that by another attack on their flanks and their rear,—capturing all their provision train, and surrounding them.—They fought desperately for an hour, when their ammunition for the field piece being exhausted and their situation perilous, they forced their way back to Tancayoca, fired upon the whole way;—into this village they entered, their progress disputed at every step. Here they supplied themselves with a little ammunition, and in the night, during a heavy storm, silently continued their retreat, thus escaping another party in their rear, by which they must have been captured. They were overtaken and harassed all that day and the succeeding one by the troops of Garay—who then would inevitably have made prisoners of the whole of them but for the arrival of a reinforcement of one hundred and sixty Americans, with two pieces of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. This reinforcement had been sent on a steamer, by the American commander at Tampico, on the first news of their reverses. In this expedition, the American soldiers fought with their accustomed bravery; but the extreme folly with which it had been planned by the commander at Tampico, and the unmilitary style in which it was carried out by its commanding officer, rendered it an object of derision to the Mexicans, and of great annoyance to the invaders.

CHAPTER V.

Approach of the Americans from Puebla—Preparations for defense—Battle of Contreras—Defeat of Valencia—Battle of Churubusco—Defeat of Rincon—The Armistice—Congress retires to Toluca—Political Parties—Puros—Moderados—Monarquistas—Attack on American train—Renewal of hostilities—Review of actions of Santa Anna—Battle of Molino del Rey—Its results—Destruction in both armies—Scott's movements in feigning attack on the southern gates of Mexico—Cannonade of Chapultepec—Battle of Chapultepec—Results—Defeat of Bravo—Santa Anna outgeneralled—Attack on the gates of Belen and San Cosme—Capital evacuated by night—Surrender of the Capital to the American army—Immediate insurrection of the people—Recapitulation of the actions and losses of the American army.

All expectations that the terms of Trist, the commissioner of the United States, would be accepted by the Mexican government, having vanished, the Americans made immediate preparations for an advance from the city of Puebla. On the arrival there of a body of reinforcements, two thousand five hundred strong, from Vera Cruz, under Gen. Pierce, Scott set forward on August 6th. This advance of the enemy was immediately made known, by express, to Santa Anna; and, according to previous arrangement, the information was communicated to the Mexican army and people in the city of Mexico, by the discharge of the heavy alarm-gun in the Plaza in front of the Cathedral and palace. This piece of artillery was discharged at twelve o'clock on the 9th, and as its report, circling out from the Plaza, echoed and reverberated through the streets and along the squares of the immense city, it was answered by innumerable shouts of exultation even, that the Americans were at hand, and that the long-expected contest would now take place. Instantaneously all business, all trade, and every mechanical operation ceased; the professional man and the artisan, the gentleman and the beggar, dropping every other consideration, seized upon their arms; the roll of drums called out all the regular troops, and, as rapidly column after column displayed itself in brilliant uniform, and fine equipments, their great number and regular appearance reflected confidence from one corps to another, and among the whole mass of the citizens. The whole body of thirty-two thousand men were under arms in a short time; but only part of them left the city

on that day, the 9th, for the lines of defense, which, now finished and admirably constructed, were from eight to nine miles from the capital.

On the 10th, no business of any description was attempted, in the city; not a shop, save those at which provisions and coal were sold, was allowed to be opened — every one was engaged in the martial scene, so imposing, that for many years the people of that city, famed for military display, had not seen so gorgeous a pageant. Battalion after battalion of troops were reviewed, and passing under the critical eye of Santa Anna, with loud music, and a proud step, swept on to the city gates. The veterans of San Luis Potosi, who had fought at Buena Vista, now under General Valencia, challenged the admiration of all for their soldierly bearing. Many different corps, which had met the Americans at Palo Alto, Monterey, Vera Cruz, and Cerro Gordo, though those fatal defeats were impressed upon their remembrances, now, having confidence in their position, their strong lines of defense and their numbers, were eager to meet the invaders again. The troops heretofore untried, who never as yet had seen *los Americanos*, were loud in their expressions of the effect of their prowess, yet to be exerted. The *Pintos*, or southern Indians, under Alvarez, who for years had been regular cavalry soldiers, now in their rude style, well equipped and mounted, pressed along in clattering columns, with gay flags on their forest of lances, only fearful that they should not find, among the smaller force of the Americans, opportunity for each to exercise his deeds of valor. But when the four battalions of Victoria, Hidalgo, Independence, and Bravo, a body two thousand strong, wheeled in the large Plaza, and with martial step passed in review of the commander-in-chief, surrounded by his glittering staff, the excitement and tumultuous enthusiasm was at its hight;—from these troops much was expected. They were known by the name of *Polkas*—they were gentlemen soldiers—from the ranks of higher life alone were they drawn; and the Castilian blood warmed in their cheeks, at the remembrance of the deeds of their ancestors, famous in history. To see and to encourage all the other troops, assembled to defend the capital, as in deep and serried columns they moved for the gates, filling the long streets with their steady succeeding lines of infantry, accompanied by the heavy tread of the close bodies of cavalry, and the rumbling wheels of the heavy cannon, and wagons of ammunition, the ladies had crowded in thousands to their balconies and windows, waved their white handkerchiefs and extended their hands to the soldiers, and given many smiles of approbation to the officers prancing along below—but when the Polkas appeared, no effort was too much for the

ladies to make, giving their smiles, their happiest looks of encouragement and recognition, from the balconies, housetops and windows unto their brave fathers, brothers, lovers, and acquaintances in the ranks below. Flowers and tokens were showered down upon them, and happy smiles of pride met them at every glance; every soldier was recognised, and he determined to render himself illustrious in the approaching conflict. The bells rang cheerily, as the columns, already victorious in anticipation, moved out to the lines. These four battalions of the *Polkas* were ordered to the fortifications at the Peñon, on the national road, by which the Americans were advancing, as the strength of the battle was expected there. They were supported by the brigade of Gen. Perez; in all, seven thousand men, and twenty-five cannon; while the other brigades were stationed at Mexicalzingo, Churubusco, Chapultepec, and the other defenses—save the splendid force of Gen. Valencia's veterans, which, five thousand strong, with a fine park of twenty-three pieces of brass artillery, supported by two thousand of the best of Gen. Alvarez's cavalry, was held as a movable reserve, ready to act on any part of the line of defense that should be most severely attacked by the American columns; and the remainder of Alvarez's cavalry were ordered to march and keep near the rear of the advancing Americans, to fall upon them in their retreat. All the other divisions and brigades were stationed in the fortified lines.

On the 10th, from the fortified hights of Peñon could be seen, in the distance, the approaching column of the advance of the American army. This army, in four columns, was ten thousand five hundred strong, with one thousand wagons, and a large park of artillery. Approaching near the hights, so strongly fortified before them, the American engineers could be seen in rapid movement, taking surveys of the works, while the army halted at Ayotla, awaiting the result of these reconnoissances. On the 12th the second column of the Americans arrived, followed, on the 13th, by another, and the rear was brought up by the fourth column, on Saturday, the 14th. During these days the American engineers, supported by bodies of cavalry, continued their observations; and although they were seen, the Mexican forces, confident of success in any attack, disturbed them not, but remained quietly within their strong lines.

On the night of Sunday, the 15th, Gen. Santa Anna received positive assurance, from his scouts, that the Americans, having reconnoitered the route to the southward, around the lake of Xochilmilco, had that afternoon sent a strong advance, under Gen. Worth, in that direction. Seeing that the object of the invaders was to complete the

circuit of the lake, and approach the city along the western bank of this water, by the villages of San Augustine and San Antonio; and that notwithstanding the main force of the Americans was still encamped before the Peñon, the attack of that fortification was in reality abandoned by them, he immediately altered his arrangements to meet this new design of the enemy. Early, therefore, on the morning of Monday, the 16th inst., he ordered the four battalions of Polkas, mentioned, to march rapidly by the nearer route around the northern bank of the lake and forestall the invaders in their expected occupation of San Augustine, taking with them many of the pieces of artillery already mounted at the Peñon. He ordered Gen. Perez's brigade to march to Churubusco, in the rear of San Augustine and San Antonio, and on the second defense, where were a fort at the bridge or causeway, and a fortified church of great strength.—He directed Gen. Valencia's brigade, with its accompanying artillery and cavalry, to move toward the left also, to meet any diversion of the Americans. On Tuesday, the 17th, the battalions passing through Churubusco and San Antonio, arrived at the village of San Augustine, but upon examination of the place, it was found impracticable to make there a successful stand;—consequently, Santa Anna ordered the force to fall back three miles on the causeway to San Antonio, the latter place being nine miles from the city. Following close upon the rear of the retiring Mexican force, and skirmishing with them, came into San Augustine, the American advance, which had now arrived in sight of the domes and spires of the "Halls of the Montezumas," without experiencing any loss of moment; having been, however, slightly attacked on this day and the day previous, by the Mexican cavalry, who, as has been mentioned, had been detached to operate on their rear.

On Wednesday morning, the 19th, the advance of Americans proceeded up the causeway toward the capital, but in coming near San Antonio, were received with a discharge of artillery that stopped their progress.—They took possession of the hacienda of Carrera, under the fire of San Antonio, while their engineers reconnoitered the immense field of rugged volcanic stone which lay to their left, or *Pedregal*, which had always been considered by the Mexicans, impassable to troops, on account of its sharp surface, rough precipices, and deep chasms. Notwithstanding this belief, the force of Gen. Valencia, 7,000 strong, had been stationed on the hill of Magdalena, on the western side of this *Pedegral*, near the village of Contreras. When the advance parties of the Americans appeared in view, in search of a road by which they might turn the strong fortifications

of San Antonio, Valencia, at 2 P. M., opened upon them a heavy fire from his twenty-three pieces of artillery, and continued it until evening. The fire was returned from three mountain howitzers. The American general taking position on one of the volcanic hills, directed the operations, and by his increase of force showing Valencia that his intention was, if possible, to force the position, that general immediately sent an Aid to Santa Anna at San Antonio, requesting reinforcements.—Santa Anna moved late in the afternoon to his support, with Gen. Perez's brigade, and other corps, amounting to five thousand men, with three pieces of light artillery. He encountered the Americans, drawn up near the camp of Valencia, but strange to say, did not attack them—firing only a half dozen shots from the fieldpieces upon the enemy, posted between himself and Valencia, he sent around them Aids with orders to the latter, to abandon his position, and fall back to San Angel on the second line of defense. To this Valencia sent a positive refusal, stating that his position was advantageous, his entrenchments strong, and his troops full of ardor to defeat the enemy. Gen. Santa Anna, however, on the approach of night, repeated his orders, and then fell back with his reinforcements to San Angel, four miles. Here meeting with another heavy detachment under Gen. Rangel, who had been sent from the city, by Gen. Lombardini, upon the demand of Valencia, Santa Anna halted these, and ordered the brigade of Gen. Perez to its former position at Churubusco, in front of the main body of the Americans, while he reinforced the position of San Antonio, immediately in front of Churubusco, under command of Gen. Bravo, leaving Valencia's force unsupported. That officer continued his heavy cannonade upon the enemy, and at night distributed honors and promotions among his officers and troops, who eagerly awaited the approach of the next day to recommence their fight. Valencia posted strong pickets around his position, especially guarding with two hundred horse the mouth of a ravine which led from the front round to the rear of his camp. Such then was the positions of the armies on the night of the 19th. While the Mexican army was thus lying upon the field, and at their fortifications, within the city the Divine Host or Sacramental Bread was exposed upon the altars of the churches, and was bowed before by the thousands of inhabitants remaining there, the old men, the decrepit and sick, and the whole female population, all praying devoutly for the success of their army. The feeling within the city was deep and intense, but hope and confidence were in the ascendant.

The night was dark and a heavy rain added to its gloom. Owing to this, Valencia's pickets were withdrawn, and the American general,

Smith, in command of the forces near Contreras, during the storm silently proceeded up the ravine and placed his troops upon either flank and in the rear of Valencia; and in the morning, a little after sunrise, he made a furious attack with musketry and the bayonet upon all sides of Valencia's position; and after a severe contest of seventeen minutes, completely routed him, with a terrible destruction of killed and wounded ;—taking all the fine park of artillery and the ammunition—dispersing the cavalry completely—securing over a thousand prisoners; and most of those who escaped, did so by disencumbering themselves of their arms, which were thickly strewed all along the road. This defeat of Valencia was equally unexpected to both Santa Anna and Scott—the latter being at the time on his march with Worth's and Quitman's divisions, to reinforce Gen. Smith; and the former also *en route*, with Gen. Rangel's brigade and other corps, to the support of Valencia.—Counter orders now were issued to both these supporting and opposing forces. Scott ordered his reinforcements back to attack San Antonio, while Santa Anna, sending Rangel's brigade into the city, ordered Gen. Bravo to fall back from San Antonio and make a firm stand at the strong works of Churubusco.

Such was the disastrous result of the battle of Contreras, in which the Mexicans had been put to complete rout, and the first prestige of defeat spread through the army. Santa Anna having ordered Valencia to be shot, wherever found, that general presented himself no more before his commander-in-chief; but passing through Mexico, continued his retreat with a few attendants, to Toluca. Valencia had been ambitious of defeating the enemy by himself, and proof against him was nearly positive, that his eyes were fixed upon possession of the power enjoyed by Santa Anna. Hence his disobedience of the orders of that general, and the apathy of the latter in affording him assistance on the evening of the 19th, is accounted for. From the city of Mexico the rising smoke had been seen, and the reports of the artillery heard in the distance, but the exulting hopes of the inhabitants were dampened shortly after by the tidings of defeat.

The object of Gen. Santa Anna now being to repulse the Americans in their advance, at the strong works of Churubusco, for this purpose he ordered Gen. Rangel's command again from the city, and with them, the brigade of Gen. Perez, the battalions of Bravo and Independence, under Gen. Bravo, which had fallen back from San Antonio, and a body of Alvarez's cavalry, the battalion of American deserters, and part of the fugitives from Valencia's rout—comprised in all, over twenty thousand men.

At Churubusco, four miles from the city gates, the river, of the same name, runs eastwardly toward the lake, and partakes of the nature of a canal, having straight and level banks; at the point crossed by the causeway which leads to San Augustine, was a heavy stone bridge, at the extremity of which, toward the advancing foe, a strong fort was erected. Three hundred yards to the west of this fort, the massive church, or rather convent of San Pablo was situated, in the hamlet of Churubusco; while, in the rear of this and of the convent, and still further westwardly, was a large stone hacienda; this was the right of the Mexican army—the left extended down the canal.

The victorious American column, direct from the battle at Contreras, advanced through Coyoacan, to the attack of these works, while the body which had been held in check by Gen. Bravo, at San Antonio, seeing that post about to be evacuated, pressed the retreating column so closely, that they captured some of the artillery, and took part of Alvarez's troop prisoners; and, keeping up with the column in its retreat, arrived at Churubusco, as soon as that body. Part of the Mexican force which thus fell back from San Antonio, were the battalions of Hidalgo and Victoria (Polkas), from whose intrepidity much was expected; but which expectation they now grievously disappointed, by strangely neglecting to stop at Churubusco, and continuing directly on, for the city gates, which they entered—not having fired a single shot; here these gallant fellows dispersed to their homes, leaving their comrades without to stand the brunt of the battle.

The body of Americans that thus had followed up Bravo was under command of Gen. Worth; they were checked for a moment, by the fire of artillery, but then attacked the *téte de pont*, or fort at the head of the bridge, with ardor; while the other column advancing from Coyoacan, under Gen. Twiggs, attacked the church at Churubusco, which was strongly fortified, and garrisoned partly by the other two Polka battalions, of Independence and Bravo, who fought well, having no possible chance to retreat. These were supported here by the artillery, of which about twenty pieces were in position at the various points, and the fire of which made great havoc in the ranks of the Americans. Another column of the latter, under the command of Gen. Shields, attacked the hacienda at the Mexican right; this column, consisting of five regiments, was received by nearly seven thousand troops of the line.

The battle, at one P. M., raged from right to left. The roar of artillery and musketry was so unremitted, that the words of command given on either side could scarcely be heard. A dense cloud of smoke hung over the field, and the ground was strewed with the dead and

dying. The conflict between these thirty thousand combatants continued unabated in violence for two hours, when the Mexican right gave way before the impetuous attack of Shields, and in retreating, crowded along the narrow causeway to the capital, in confused, dense masses. Shortly after, the column on the left, under Gen. Worth, triumphantly assaulted the fort at the bridge, routing Perez's troops, and capturing the artillery and colors; and finally, in twenty minutes after, Gen. Rincon, in command of the fortified church, finding himself surrounded, and with no means of retreat, surrendered to the division of Gen. Twiggs.

Gen. Perez's forces fled in confusion to the Peñon. The battalions of Independence and Bravo, and the legion of American deserters, were taken prisoners, which with the portions of other battalions, were in number about two thousand, among them Generals Rincon, Anaya, Garay, and a due proportion of inferior officers of all ranks. During the day the loss of the Mexicans at Contreras, San Antonio, and Churubusco, killed, wounded, and prisoners, had been above five thousand men.—Forty-five pieces of artillery had fallen into the hands of the Americans, and more ammunition than had been used by the American army since the landing at Vera Cruz.

The rout at Churubusco was complete and terrible. In the hot pursuit of the crowd of fugitives, the American cavalry dashed up to the gates of the city, and came near capturing Santa Anna himself. At night only 11,000 troops were collected within the walls, the shattered remnant of the 32,000 that had entered the actions in the morning. Those that thus remained, were discouraged and frightened, and had the American army entered the gates, the city in its tumultuous alarm and confusion, must have surrendered with hardly a show of resistance. The streets were crowded with fugitives, officers hastening to and fro, and women running wildly, shrieking in excess of fear, or hurriedly searching for those of immediate connection with them, now among the missing, either dead or prisoners.—The Mexicans in the city, writing to their friends in the country, describe the fearful scene within the capital that evening and the following night, as being one of confusion, tears, shrieks, and distress unbounded. In some parts of the city, alarm after alarm, that the Americans were coming, was raised by the panic-struck soldiers, and men, women and children, fled for their lives. In stupid amazement and terror, the crowds on the house-tops and steeples, had beheld the flying battalions pursued by the enemy, crowding into the gates, while groans and cries arose from the streets as the multitude of wounded were hurried along. It was a fearful night.

The loss to the Americans during this memorable day, in killed and wounded had been a little over a thousand, most of which had been at and about Churubusco.—At Contreras their loss had been light.

It had not been the intention of the American general to enter the city after the first battles, he determining to allow the Mexican government yet another opportunity of negociating a peace, while yet the capital remained in their possession.—On the morning of the 21st, Señor Pacheco, minister of internal and foreign relations (secretary of state), dispatched an embassy, consisting of Gen. Villamil and Señor Aranjois, to the head-quarters of the enemy at Coyoacan, requesting an armistice of thirty hours, to collect the wounded and bury the dead, &c. The terms proposed were rejected by Gen. Scott, who, however, sent in other proposals, given below, which led to the armistice, of which much has been said by both nations. The correspondence is given in full.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE U. S. AMERICA,
Coyoacan, August 21, 1847.

To His Excellency the President and General-in-chief of the Republic of Mexico.

Sir: — Too much blood has already been shed in this unnatural war between the two great republics of this continent. It is time that the differences between them should be amicably and honorably settled; and it is known to your Excellency, that a commissioner on the part of the United States, clothed with full powers to that end, is with this army. To enable the two republics to enter on negociation, I am willing to sign, on reasonable terms, a short armistice.

I shall await with impatience until to-morrow morning, for a direct answer to this communication; but shall in the mean time, seize and occupy such positions outside of the capital, as I may deem necessary to the shelter and comfort of this army.

I have the honor to remain, with high consideration and respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant, WINFIELD SCOTT.

To this letter the following reply was returned, by the Mexican secretary of war:

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE,
Mexico, August 21st, 1847.

To His Excellency Gen. Winfield Scott, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the U. S. America.

Sir: — The undersigned, Minister of War and Marine of the Government of the United States of Mexico, is instructed by his Excellency the President, commander-in-chief, to reply to your communication, in which you propose to enter into an armistice, with a view to avoid the further shedding of blood between the two great republics of this continent, for the purpose of hearing the propositions which may be made for this purpose, by the commissioner of his Excellency the President of the United States of America, who is at the head-quarters of the American army.

It is certainly lamentable, that, in disregard of the rights of the Mexican republic, the shedding of blood has become inevitable, between the first republics of the Ameri-

can continent: and your Excellency, with great propriety, qualifies this war as unnatural, as well on account of its origin as the antecedents of two people identified by their relations and their interests. The proposition of an armistice to terminate this scandal, has been received with pleasure, by his Excellency the President, commander-in-chief, as it will enable the propositions to be entertained which the commissioner of the President of the United States may make for the honorable termination of the war.

Accordingly, the President, commander-in-chief, directs me to say to your Excellency, that he accepts the proposition to enter into an armistice, and for this object he has appointed the brigadier generals, D. Ignacio Mora y Villamil and D. Benito Quijano, who will be present at the time and place which may be designated.

His Excellency also instructs me to communicate his satisfaction that the army of the United States should occupy convenient and fitting quarters, trusting and hoping that they will be out of reach of the fire of the Mexican fortifications.

I have the honor to be with high consideration and respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant, ... ALCORTA.

THE ARMISTICE.

The undersigned, appointed respectively, the three first by Maj. Gen. Scott, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and the two last by his Excellency D. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, president of the Mexican Republic, and commander-in-chief of its armies, met with full powers, which were duly verified, in the village of Tacubaya, on the 22d day of August, 1847, to enter into an armistice for the purpose of giving the Mexican government an opportunity of receiving propositions for peace, from the commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, and now with the American army, when the following articles were agreed upon:

1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter States, to allow time to the commissioner appointed by the United States, and the commissioner to be appointed by the Mexican Republic, to negotiate.

2. This armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged in negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice, and for forty-eight hours after such notice.

3. In the mean time, neither army shall, within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offense or defense, or do any thing to enlarge or strengthen any existing work, or fortification of that character, within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same time. Any reinforcements in troops, or munitions of war, other than subsistence, now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of twenty-eight leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, nor any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under flag of truce, bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorised by the next article; and individuals of either army, who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits shall, by the opposite party be kindly warned off, or sent back to their own armies under a flag of truce.

7. The American army shall not by violence obstruct the passage, from the open

country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of food necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or the country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining on the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favor the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with dispatches that either army shall desire to send along the line, from the city of Mexico, or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. Those Mexican medical officers, who may wish to attend the wounded, shall have the privilege of doing so, if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect, unless approved by their excellencies the commanders, respectively of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from the 6th hour of the 23d day of August, 1847.

J. A. QUITMAN, Maj. Gen. U. S. A. IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL.
PERSIFER F. SMITH, Bvt. Brig. Gen. BENITO QUIJANO.
FRANKLIN PIERCE, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, U. S. A., Military Secretary to the General-in-Chief.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA,
Tacubaya, August 23, 1847.

Considered, approved, and ratified, with the express understanding that the word "supplies," as used the second time, without qualification in the seventh article of this military convention (American copy) shall be taken to mean, as in both the British and American armies, arms, munitions, clothing, equipments, subsistence (for men), forage, money, and in general all the wants of an army. That word "supplies," in the Mexican copy, is erroneously translated "*viveres*," instead of "*recursos*."

WINFIELD SCOTT,
General-in-Chief of the U. S. A.

The following is a translation of Santa Anna's ratification:

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO,
August 23, 1847.

Ratified, suppressing article nine, and explaining article four to mean that the temporary peace of this armistice is to be respected in the capital, and at a distance of twenty-eight leagues around the capital, translating the word "supplies" by "recursos," meaning everything the army may stand in need of, except arms and ammunition.

ANTONIA LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA,
Tacubaya, August 24, 1847.

I accept and ratify the foregoing qualification, added by the President General of the Mexican Republic. WINFIELD SCOTT.

A true copy of the original.

G. W. LAY, U. S. A., Military secretary to the General-in-Chief.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY U. S. AMERICA,
Tacubaya, August 23, 1847.

To his Excellency, the President and General-in-Chief of the Mexican Republic:

SIR—Under a flag of truce I send Lieut. Semmes, of the U. S. Navy, who will have the honor to exchange, with such officer as may be appointed for the purpose, the ratification of the military convention that was signed yesterday by commissioners from the American and Mexican armies.

I particularly invite the attention of your excellency to the terms of my ratification, and have the honor to remain, with high consideration and respect, your excellency's most obedient servant, WINFIELD SCOTT,

General-in-Chief of the U. S. A.

NATIONAL PALACE OF MEXICO,
August 23, 1847.

To his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army:

The letter of your excellency, of this date, was received, in which you are pleased to state, that Lieut. Semmes, of the U. S. Navy, will exchange, with another officer appointed for that purpose, the ratification of the military convention, which was signed yesterday by the commissioners of the Mexican and American armies, and calls particular attention to the terms of the ratification.

His excellency, the president, orders the undersigned to inform your excellency, which he has the honor of doing, to send the ratification within the time agreed upon by the armistice, and also to call the attention of your excellency, to the terms of the ratification by his excellency the president. LINO JOSE ALCORTA,

Minister of State, and of War and Marine.

On the night of the 20th, the advance of the Americans had halted at Portalis, two and a half miles from the southern gate of the city. On the 21st they advanced, and took possession of Tacubaya; while the various detachments under Generals Worth, Pillow, Twiggs, and Quitman remained quartered in the villages of Coyoacan, Mixcoac, San Augustin, and others. They exhibited to the inhabitants of these

villages, the same principles of order and moderation which, in other cities captured by them, had made their presence to be regarded, by the better class of Mexicans, rather as an advantage, than a terror. While the negotiations were going on, they busied themselves only with the burial of the dead, both their own and the Mexican, and in attending to the wounded of both parties, and guarding their numerous prisoners. While extending the greatest kindness to all these of Mexican race, they treated with great severity those of the legion of St. Patrick, which was entirely composed of deserters from the American ranks, and who, having been placed in the front of the battle at Churubusco, by Santa Anna, were taken prisoners by their former comrades. Fifty of these were hung, as soon as their cases could be investigated by a hastily organised court martial.

At the time of the appointment of commissioners to conclude the armistice, Pacheco had issued a summons to each member of congress, (one hundred and forty in number), to assemble immediately, to consider on the propositions for peace; but of the whole number only twenty-five obeyed the summons. The members of congress having placed all the responsibility upon Santa Anna, would not take any part of it on themselves. Individually retiring to Toluca, seventy of them met, and in informal session resolved, that they would listen to no proposals for peace, while the army of the United States threatened the capital, occupied the finest cities of the republic, or her fleets blockaded the Mexican ports. This done, they dispersed. Gen. Valencia, then there, amused them and the people, by issuing high-sounding proclamations, breathing war to the last, and condemning the conduct of the commander-in-chief. But, of little moment to Santa Anna, upon whom the burden now rested, were either the resolutions of the deputies, or the proclamation of Valencia. He was in a peculiar situation; and though his acts appear to indicate that he was at heart inclined favorably to consider the proposals of the United States, yet he was prevented from expressing this opinion by the circumstances in which he was placed. These seemed to be more perilous than ever. The state of political affairs within the city was more distracted. Previous to the arrival of the American army before the city, he had by the strong force of military power, silenced the utterance of every sentiment in opposition to himself; but, although the various parties were no longer permitted to express their opinions publicly, they had cherished them with increased rancor toward him; and now, in the confusion incident to defeat, they were the more loudly spoken, because of their previous suppression.

The opinions and movements within the city of Mexico, always have governed the nation. Like the revolutions in Paris, which have immediately changed the whole face of France, so it has been in Mexico. As a general rule, he who was supported by the capital, was fully in power over the whole country; and so uncertain has been the tenure, that in the provinces neither the governments nor the people have been enabled positively at any day to say, under what executive officer the nation was, or what principles or form of constitution was the foundation of their action. Within this city now, was confusion in parties, and great bitterness of expression between them. Let us review those whose actions bore so potently upon the conduct of Santa Anna; a glance at their particular aims, will enable the reader to see the principles which had actuated the great parties of this unhappy nation, for some years before this period.

First, the *Puros*, democrats, opposed the views of Santa Anna. This party, comprising many, and the more influential, of the middle class, and many of the lower, regarding the United States as a pattern republic, worthy of imitation, have for years held the following opinions: Being Roman Catholics, in common with the whole population, they were in favor of curtailing the immense revenues of the church to such an amount as would support the worship and ceremonies alone; would reduce the immense number of the priests, curates, and friars, to that which should suffice only for the performance of their worship. Believing, also, a large standing army to be injurious to their civil liberty, and seeing, too, that by it all the revolutions were accomplished, they made no concealment of their opposition to it, and would reduce it to a small establishment; they would, also, promote the elevation of the lower classes, encouraging equality, liberty, freedom of thought and political expression, and, the more liberal among them, would even permit much more toleration in religion.

This party were cordially united against Santa Anna—whose opinions were so directly contrary—and at this time strenuously opposed a peace, the effect of which would be to place him permanently in power. The governor of the city, Don Francisco M. de Olaguibel, was of this party, and united, at this moment, the influence of it against the peace—issuing a strong manifesto in opposition.

Diametrically opposed to the Puros, were the *Monarquistas*.—These, strong in influence, but not in numbers, observing the miserable condition to which Mexico had been reduced under republican government, and seeing no hope of the termination of revolutions and turmoils, were strongly in favor of a monarchy, and contended, that a king alone could bring prosperity to the country, believing that the

people of Mexico were not suited for a republic. They were also in favor of the monopolies and privileges enjoyed by the church. Their opinions were ably supported by a large portion of the clergy, and, as has been mentioned, warmly approved of by the late archbishop of Mexico. At the head of these Monarquistas was Gen. Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, or, as commonly called, Paredes; who, returning from exile in disguise, landed at Vera Cruz on the 14th of August, and escaped from there before the American authorities had notice of his arrival. He had proceeded to Mexico, and was now concealed in the neighborhood, having offered his services to Santa Anna, but had been proscribed by him.

This party of Monarquistas were bitterly opposed to Santa Anna, and still more so, to peace with the United States. Under the goverment of their leader, Paredes, the war had been commenced, and they wished it to continue.

The third great party was the *Moderados*. These took a middle stand, were opposed to the ultra-democratic opinions of the Puros, and equally so to the aristocratic principles of the Monarquistas. Some of this party were friendly to Santa Anna, but by no means the majority; although his political tenets, if indeed he had any, were thought to be more in accordance with the opinions of this, than either of the other parties, yet they were distrustful of him; and while many were openly in favor of peace, they dreaded that he should make it. The party was strong, comprising many of the better portion of the middle classes, the inferior clergy, &c. They were not so bitterly opposed to the United States as the others, and at heart some of them would even be happy to be annexed to that power, in hopes of enjoying the blessings of a good government.

The leperos, or beggarly population of the capital, who in proportion exceed those of any city of the new world, were clamorous against a peace, though they acted from no principle, and belonged to no party whatever. These, moved entirely by impulse, knew nothing of the causes of the war, and cared nothing for its results, could they but be amused with accounts of victories upon paper.

Santa Anna at this crisis, sustained by neither of these parties, relied only on the army, of which he had still, within the city, fifteen thousand men, having again collected the shattered remnants of defeated battalions; the army was attached to him, as it had always been.—During the progress of the negotiations, which occupied the time from the 22d of August to the 6th of September, not a soldier arrived at the beleagured capital for its assistance—not a dollar was received by the government. It was now impossible for the execu-

tive to think of concluding a peace with the commissioner of the United States, and this was made apparent a day or two after the armistice had commenced; but every day of that armistice was valuable to him, and his instructions to the Mexican commissioners were, as he himself states in a letter to one of his friends, to prolong it to the utmost, until he should have time to reorganise his troops, and establish their confidence. The number of these now, exclusive of the Polkas who had acted so disgracefully and were disbanded, was much superior, in fact double, the available forces of the Americans; and knowing the severe losses which had befallen them, he hoped yet, with the aid of the population, to prevent them from entering the city. Every consecutive hour added to his advantage, while it was correspondingly disadvantageous to the Americans.—While the commissioners for peace met and deliberated, and while the American general was even sanguine of its completion, the wily Mexican had new fortifications constructing every night, with surprising rapidity, but in direct violation of the terms of the armistice. An American train, in accordance with those terms, under the escort of a body of Mexican cavalry, entering the city for provisions, were attacked and stoned in the street, by the *leperos* and lower orders of *puros*, incited, from the balconies and windows, by individuals of standing and influence—the same valiant gentlemen, who, as Polkas, had made such a rapid retreat from Churubusco, before the battle commenced. This outrage was in immediate view of Santa Anna, who, while he made no effort to save the defenseless teamsters, apologised to Gen. Scott, for that and another similar outrage—the sacking of a warehouse within the walls, in which provisions had been collected for the American army. This apology prevented the armistice being terminated by the latter general on the instant, and gave to Santa Anna what he most needed—time. He issued a decree, forbidding any foreigners or others from going to the American camp without a permit from himself; and another, ordering the Polkas to reappear in the ranks—but the latter had no effect. He had the support of the English and Prussian ministers—that of congress he looked not for. He convoked a council of army officers, and as usual, after a long recapitulation of his services, tendered to them his resignation; but they refused to hear of it—hoped that peace might be made—but were ready in the contrary event to give up their lives in his support. To this refusal he yielded with apparent good grace. As his determination again to fight became known within the city, the swarming crowds of that densely populated capital, turned out each night, to work on the defenses at and near the city gates, and the strong fortress of Chapulte-

pec. The Polkas, even, could do this; and women, in multitudes, assisted, being driven on by fear, and excited by the most unfounded reports of American outrage and cruelty.

For a few days only, could the American general be thus deceived; and a decisive step was taken by him toward bringing the matter to a conclusion on the 6th of September, by his sending under a flag of truce, the following communication to Santa Anna:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF UNITED STATES,
Tacubaya, Sept. 6, 1847.

To his Excellency, the President and General-in-Chief of the Mexican Republic:

The 7th and 12th articles of the armistice or military convention which I had the honor of ratifying and exchanging with your excellency, on the 24th ult., stipulate that the army under my command, shall have the privilege of obtaining supplies from the city of Mexico. There were repeated violations of these articles soon after the armistice was signed, and I have now good reasons for believing that within the last twenty-four hours, if not before, the 3d article of the same convention was violated by the same parties. These direct breaches of good faith give to this army a full right to commence hostilities without giving any notice. However, I will give the necessary time for an explanation, satisfaction, or reparation. If these are not given, I hereby formally notify you, that if I do not receive the most complete satisfaction on all these points before twelve o'clock to-morrow, I shall consider the armistice as terminated from that hour.

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

To this Santa Anna made the following reply:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF MEXICAN REPUBLIC,
Mexico, Sept. 6, 1847.

To his Excellency, General Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States:

By the note of your excellency under this date I learn, with surprise, that you consider that the civil and military authorities of Mexico have violated articles 7, 12 and 3 of the armistice which I concluded with your excellency on the 24th of last month.

The civil and military authorities of Mexico have not obstructed the passage of provisions for the American army; and if at times their transmission has been retarded, it has been owing to the imprudence of the American agents, who, without having a previous understanding with the proper authorities, gave occasion for popular outbreaks, which it has cost the Mexican government much trouble to repress. Last night, and the night before, the escorts for the provision train were ready to start, and were detained only because Mr. Hargous, the agent, desired it. The orders given to suspend the intercourse between the two armies were addressed to private individuals, and not to the agents of the army of the United States, and were intended purposely to expedite the transmission of provisions to the army, and to confine the intercourse to that object exclusively. In return for this conduct, your excellency has prevented the owners or managers of the grain mills, in the vicinity of the city, from furnishing any flour to the city—which is a true breach of the good faith your excellency had pledged me.

It is false, that any new work or fortification has been undertaken, because one or two repairs have only served to place them in the same condition they were in on the day the armistice was entered into, accident or the convenience of the moment having caused the destruction of the then existing works. You have had early notice of the establishment of the battery covered with the mud walls of the house of Garry, in this city, and did not remonstrate, because the peace of two great republics could not be made to depend upon things grave in themselves, but of little value compared to the result in which all the friends of humanity and of the prosperity of the American continent take so great an interest.

It is not without great grief, and even indignation, that I have received communications from the cities and villages occupied by the army of your excellency, in relation to the violation of the temples consecrated to the worship of God, to the plunder of the sacred vases, and to the profanation of the images venerated by the Mexican people. Profoundly have I been affected by the complaints of fathers and husbands, of the violence offered to their daughters and wives; and these same villages have been sacked, not only in violation of the armistice, but of the sacred principles proclaimed and respected by civilised nations. I have observed silence to the present moment, in order not to obstruct the progress of negotiations which held out the hope of terminating a scandalous war, and one which your excellency has characterised so justly as unnatural. But I shall desist offering apologies, because I cannot be blind to the truth, that the true cause of the threats of renewing hostilities, contained in the note of your excellency, is that I have not been willing to sign a treaty which would lessen considerably, the territory of the Republic, and not only the territory of the Republic, but that dignity and integrity which all nations defend to the last extremity. And if these considerations have not the same weight in the mind of your excellency, the responsibility before the world, who can easily distinguish on whose side is moderation and justice, will fall upon you.

I flatter myself, that your excellency will be convinced, on calm reflection, of the weight of my reasons. But, if by misfortune, you should seek only a pretext to deprive the first city of the American continent of an opportunity to free the unarmed population of the horrors of war, there will be left me no other means of salvation, but to repel force by force, with the decision and energy which my high obligations impose upon me.

I have the honor to be your excellency's humble servant,

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

The treaty referred to above, by Santa Anna, or rather the propositions of Mr. Trist, on behalf of the United States, for such a treaty, had been comprised in eleven articles, in substance as follows:

Art. 1st. Stipulated that hostilities should cease upon the ratification of the treaty.

2d. Provided for the liberation of all prisoners of war, with the promise of the United States to recover Mexican prisoners from the Camanches, and other Indian tribes.

3d. Declared that all hostilities should be immediately suspended; and on the ratification of the treaty, all captured cities, forts, castles, &c., with their artillery, within the limits of Mexico, as defined by the treaty, should be given up to the Mexican government.

4th. Defined the boundary line to be, the *Rio Grande, the southern and western boundary of the province of New Mexico, the river Gila to the Colorado, the latter river to the gulf of California, then a line down the middle of that gulf to the*

Pacific. (Thus ceding to the United States, Texas, New Mexico, Upper and Lower California.)

5th. That the United States, making no claim for the expenses of the war, should pay to Mexico $———.

6th. The United States agreed to pay, to the amount of three millions of dollars, the claims of her citizens against Mexico, both those decided, and those that should yet be decided, which should have originated prior to May 13th, 1846.

7th. Stated, that in case of difficulty in such decision, the archives of each government shall be at the disposal of the commissioners.

8th. Gave the United States the exclusive right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, to and from the Pacific ocean.

9th. Provided that all goods introduced into Mexico by the United States, should be free from confiscation, or from the payment of any duties.

10th. Declared that the treaty of commerce of 1831, should be renewed between the two countries for eight years.

11th. Stipulated that this treaty of peace should be approved by the President of the United States, and the ratifications thereof exchanged in the city of Washington within — months, or as soon as possible.

These propositions had been submitted to the Mexican commissioners on the 27th of August; but, after much deliberation, it was not until the date of the communication of the American general, before noticed, that they offered any definite proposals of their own. The American commissioner had, however, agreed to withdraw the claim to Lower California. On the 6th, seeing that no more time was to be gained, Santa Anna instructed the commissioners to present to Mr. Trist, their counter project, or *ultimatum*, as directed by himself. This was contained in fifteen articles, and in substance as follows:

Art 1st. Was a desire, merely, of lasting peace between the two republics.

2d. Demanded all prisoners to be given up; all Mexicans, prisoners to Indians, within the limits of the United States, to be liberated and returned to their homes, by the latter power.

3d. Required all forts, towns, territory, and artillery taken by the United States, to be returned to Mexico.

4th. Defined the dividing line to *commence in the gulf of Mexico, opposite the southern mouth of Corpus Christi bay, thence, across that bay, to the mouth of the river Nueces, up that to its source, thence on a line direct to the southeastern corner of New Mexico, thence along the eastern boundary of New Mexico northwardly to the 37th parallel of latitude, thence west along that parallel to the Pacific.* (Thus ceding to the United States, Texas to the Nueces, and a small strip of Indian territory, with a little of Upper California.) Mexico agreeing not to found any settlements between the Rio Grande and the Nueces.

5th. Required that the United States should pay to Mexico the sum of $———, at the city of Mexico.

6th and 7th. Stipulated that the United States should pay the claims of her citizens upon Mexico.

8th. To the same effect as the 6th article of Mr. Trist's proposition.

9th. Provided that the Roman Catholic religion should be respected in the ceded territory.

10th. Provided that citizens of Mexico might return from the United States without being taxed.

11th. That all grants of land made by Mexico, in the ceded territory, should be respected.

12th. That the United States should solemnly bind itself, not to admit, hereafter, the annexation to itself of any territory, by this treaty now within the limits of Mexico.

13th. All goods in the ports occupied by the Americans, to pay the regular Mexican duties, or be confiscated.

14th. *That the government of the United States should fully satisfy all claims of Mexican citizens for damage done to their property, by the Americans, during the war*

In addition to this, the guaranty of England was required, that the United States should perform the stipulations of the treaty.

These proposals, as had been foreseen, were rejected by the American commissioner. On the following day the negotiations closed, and both armies prepared for an immediate renewal of hostilities. On the same day, Santa Anna issued an address to the nation, stating that the enemy were about to recommence hostilities; that they had offered to give advantageous offers of peace to Mexico, but, that the propositions which were tendered by them, would have destroyed the republic, and converted it into a miserable colony of the United States, &c., and energetically exhorted all to fly to the defense of their country.

Gen. Herrera, as commander of the forces of the city, also issued an address to the clergy and the people, beseeching the former to use all their influence in sustaining the defense of the capital—exhorted the latter to assist in the defense, from their house-tops and windows, if the Americans should gain footing in the city, advising them to use all means of destruction that could be made available—fire and sword.

In the afternoon, Santa Anna sending a strong division of infantry and cavalry to Chapultepec and Molino del Rey, awaited the attack of the enemy.

Again were the contending armies ready for the strife. Again had the efforts of the Mexican commander placed the capital in such a state of defense, as to present a formidable front to the invaders; twice had it been completely in the power of the American general—after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and after that of Churubusco. At either time, on account of the excessive alarm and confusion of the inhabitants and soldiers, it might have been taken by Scott with a trifling loss. But, as Santa Anna had raised the capital from its alarm and despair, after the battle of Cerro Gordo, and had already cost the American general the tenth part of his number to make his present stand, so now, during

the few days consumed by the armistice, he had again placed himself and his forces so as to cause the invaders yet a greater sacrifice of life, in accomplishing their object.

The historian, in impartially reviewing the efforts and actions of Santa Anna during the year that had elapsed from the time he landed at Vera Cruz from exile, to the present moment, when he again stands recovered to meet Gen. Scott, as well as in his subsequent actions, must accord to him, notwithstanding his uniform ill fortune, the character and ability of a general of the first degree. How much had he accomplished in one year; how well had his plans been laid. Not a single error of judgment can be pointed to, in his course for defense; while not an error was committed by his opponents, but that he had been ready to turn to advantage. Permitted by them, he had landed alone, when called back to his distracted country; he found that country embroiled by the actions of his political and personal enemy, Paredes, in a war with a powerful nation, whose armies, already victorious, were advancing on her territory, while her own troops, under minor and inferior generals, were retreating terrified. He found distraction within the nation, confusion and revolution in the capital itself, and the armies of the enemy pouring in from different directions. He had raised army after army. His sudden movement and attack on Gen. Taylor, at Buena Vista, was most judicious. He was repulsed by the strong arrangements of position of the latter general, and the unconquerable courage and gallantry of the American soldiers. The conflict was bloody and long; and who will say, that as far as Santa Anna's arrangements are considered, they were not planned to the best advantage. But he had not men like those of the American force. His retreat, his masterly movements to conceal his repulse, his encouragement of his soldiers, his advance upon the capital, his able manner of silencing the revolution then in agitation there, without offense to either party, uniting the troops of both to his own—his rapid movements to, and arrangements at, Cerro Gordo; his energy and skill in taking advantage of the error of Scott, in that general's discharge of troops and subsequent delay at Puebla—his arrangements for defense, at the capital—all show his energy and generalship in the most favorable light. The destruction among the invaders before the strong works of Churubusco, even by part of his force, after the defeat of the morning, shows what, in all probability, would have been the result, had Valencia obeyed his orders, and fallen back to that point with his seven thousand troops and twenty pieces of artillery, and he then to have fought with fresh and full forces, without the discouraging prestige of defeat which there rested upon his army

With what tact had he again taken advantage of the delay of the American general, after that defeat, and now stood once more on the defensive. The conclusion is irresistible, that had Santa Anna been supported by officers and soldiers equal, or anywhere near equal, to those commanded by Scott, the latter general's delay at Puebla would have been fatal to him—even the delay of the armistice would have been so, as subsequent events have proved. It must be admitted, that defeated as Santa Anna has been, the fault has not been with him. Compare his generalship taken with his resources with that of the victorious American, and he suffers not in the comparison. The latter general, with all of his able plans, and triumphant success, still made some serious errors; but the effects of these were effaced by the gallantry of his subordinate officers and soldiers, every one of whom was a host in himself; freely, when necessary, giving up his life in the contest—never thinking of retiring. He was supported by a host of officers, generals in themselves; backed by a strong consolidated government, whose fleets lay near, and who poured in supplies of every sort; encouraged, and supported, too, by other victorious columns in different sections of the country; his own army though very small, was composed of the best material the world could produce.

Santa Anna made no mistakes. Once, only, was he completely deceived and out-generaled—in the attack on the city, subsequent to this. But the effect of his judicious arrangements and superior generalship, was frustrated entirely by the incompetency, insubordination, and cowardice of his inferior officers, who looked to their own advancement rather than to the good of the nation, and also, the inefficiency of his soldiers. His armies, formed so hastily, were in part but a miscellaneous rabble, defeated in heart, even before being brought into the field; and his regular troops were rendered inefficient, by the conduct of their leaders; backed by no one, no government to provide supplies—government, commander, commissary, quartermaster, engineer, all himself; a victorious enemy everywhere around him—his supplies stopped, his resources destroyed, and, more disadvantageous than all, disaffection, discord, and opposition from distracted parties, even in his very presence, and throughout the entire nation.

The conclusion is unavoidable; and an enemy must even accord to him the possession of extraordinary ability and great generalship; and it must be apparent, that had he possessed the undivided support of the nation, with men, money, means, but more especially such soldiers as those which opposed him, his success would have been such, that his name would have stood high in the roll of military heroes.

Santa Anna, expecting the attack of the Americans at or near Cha-

pultepec, on the 7th placed a large portion of his troops in that fortress and its neighborhood, under Generals Bravo, Perez, Alvarez, and Leon; while the remainder were posted at and in the vicinity of the southern gates of the city.

Chapultepec is a high mound, situated about three miles southwest of the city, connected with it, at the *garita*, or sentry box, of Belen, by a long causeway, with wide ditches on either side, and an aqueduct, running along the top. A similar causeway runs due west from the city, at the gate of San Cosme, and passes out some distance north of Chapultepec, but is connected with that by a shorter causeway running to the foot of the mound. These passages were barricaded at several points. Chapultepec, itself, has been noted in the history of Mexico, as the ancient residence of the Montezumas. For a thousand yards further west from the fortress which crowned its summit, the sloping ground was shaded by a grove of timber, and here were the identical huge cypresses which stood in the time of Cortes. At the extremity of this grove were the large and strong buildings of Molino del Rey, or King's Mill; a line of fortifications extended northwest from this, for four or five hundred yards, to the Casa Mata—a very strong old Spanish fort. Gen. Perez, with the 11th and 12th regiments of the line and four pieces of artillery, was placed at this point; while the cavalry of Gen. Alvarez was stationed a little farther to the left, being on the extreme flank. On the right, at Molino del Rey, Gen. Leon commanded a heavy force, consisting of the battalions of Union, La Patria, Mina, a body of troops from Puebla, another body from Querétaro, and detachments from other quarters. Gen. Bravo commanded at the fortress of Chapultepec, now in the rear, but within effective range of any part of the lines. The whole force here was upward of ten thousand men; while Santa Anna, confident of an attack upon that point, observed and directed every movement.

Nor was he wrongly directed by his judgment; for, on the next morning, the 8th, at the first dawn of day, drawn up on the plain below, in front of the whole line, and on the left flank, were the bodies of Americans under Gen. Worth, supported by three batteries of artillery, which, as soon as the light enabled them to see, opened upon the latter position.

The fire thus commenced a little after five A. M., and was rapidly kept up against the Mill and Casa Mata. After this fire had been productive of much injury, especially at the Mill, the Americans assaulted the works on the right, center, and left. The attack on the center was made by a storming column under Major Wright, which,

by its impetuous charge, forced the lines of Mexican troops back, and took possession of the four field pieces; but, by the efforts of Gen. Leon, they were driven back in disorder, and with loss. Being reinforced by part of Gen. Cadwallader's brigade, they again rapidly advanced to the same point; while upon the left of the Mexican line, another column, under Col. Garland, supported by a battery of artillery, rushed with impetuosity, exposed to the fire from Chapultepec. At the same moment, another heavy column, under Col. McIntosh, supported by a field battery, also, furiously attacked the position of Casa Mata, on the right. Gen. Perez received this assault with firmness, and his destructive fire strewed death among the ranks of the brave assailants.

The battle now raged furiously, and the firing was more rapid and constant, than at Churubusco. The destruction on both sides was great, and for a long time the result was extremely doubtful. Santa Anna now ordered Gen. Alvarez, with his large body of cavalry, supported by infantry stationed at the extreme right, to make a charge on the flank and rear of the Americans. Alvarez commenced his movement for a charge, which, if he had made with vigor, would inevitably have secured the victory for the Mexicans; but he was met by a rapid fire of grape and canister from Duncan's battery, on the American left, and opposed vigorously by a small force of dragoons, under Major Sumner; and, though he might have overcome both, retreated. But soon after this, the assaulting column of Americans, of the 5th, 6th, and 8th regiments of infantry, against which he had been ordered to move, were routed and driven back from Casa Mata, by the fire of Perez.

Seeing the perilous situation of his troops, and astonished at the strong defenses, of which he had not known, Gen. Scott, who had now approached the scene of action, with all haste ordered other forces, under Generals Pillow and Pierce, to reinforce Gen. Worth, for the troops of the latter amounted to but little over three thousand. But before these reinforcements could arrive, having to come from two to four miles, Gen. Perez withdrew his force from Casa Mata; and soon after, the other two American columns, on the center and left, having routed the command of Gen. Leon—after the death of that officer—all the Mexican troops, including those under Gen. Alvarez, were in full retreat for Chapultepec and the city, under the fire of the American field batteries, as well as from the captured guns. Many were killed; among them Colonels Balderas, Huerta, and Gelati; a vast number wounded and dispersed, and eight hundred taken prisoners. The main body retreated to Chapultepec, but many in their flight threw

away their arms, most of which, with ammunition, &c., fell into the hands of the Americans. About one half of the whole force arrived at Chapultepec, one fourth dispersed to the city, and the rest were killed, wounded, or prisoners. The Americans also suffered severely, losing, in killed and wounded, about eight hundred men, among them fifty officers.

The battle was over by 9 A. M. An immediate attack upon Chapultepec was expected by Santa Anna; but to his great surprise, the Americans collected their dead and wounded, blew up the fortress of Casa Mata, and at 12 M., had entirely evacuated the ground, and retired to Tacubaya. The Mexican forces, the same evening, reoccupied the position they had held in the morning.

The result of the battle was of little advantage to the Americans. The object of Gen. Scott had been, simply to destroy the cannon foundery, which he was informed, existed at the Mill—but nothing of importance was found there.

The fact of the Americans falling back, and leaving the hard-contested ground, immediately led the Mexicans to believe that the object of attack had been the fortress of Chapultepec; but that, from the desperate resistance, and consequent loss, the enemy were obliged to retire. They would not believe that the capture of the mill alone had been the only object. Consequently, Santa Anna, from the possession of the ground, claimed a victory. Proclamations and circulars, announcing the fact, were sent to all the departments forthwith, and their reception occasioned the most extravagant joy.

There was no rejoicing in the American camp that night. They had won a brilliant victory after one of the most strongly-contested actions of the war; but they felt that nothing had been gained by their loss of lives and blood. The order for the battle was most severely commented upon by the subordinate officers, as indeed, it had been when first issued, the previous evening.

Although Santa Anna had so well divined the purpose of the American leader in preparation for the assault upon Molino del Rey, he was not so successful in penetrating his next movement. Gen. Scott, determining to attack the city at the western gates of Belen and San Cosme, for the purpose of deceiving the Mexican general, arranged, in open daylight, his forces, on the 11th, before the southern gates of Piedad and San Antonio, with part of his artillery, while he sent a smaller force to take possession of the previously captured position of Molino del Rey, as though he was about to attack Chapultepec; and in furtherance of this plan, on the same night he planted three batterries, and, on the morning of the 12th, opened a heavy fire upon the latter

fortress, which was kept up during the day, with much injury to the works and loss to the garrison; among others, severely wounding Gen. Don Nicolas Soldaña, whose loss, at this time, was much felt. Seeing the cannonade so incessant, Gen. Bravo concluded that the main attack was to be at that point, and sent to Santa Anna, in answer to a message from the latter, for reinforcements. The commander-in-chief sent to him the battalion of San Blas, under Col. Xicotencatl, which was posted in the woods, outside of the fortress, not exposed to the enemy's fire. Toward evening, however, Santa Anna becoming convinced that the fire upon Chapultepec was only a feint of the American commander, and that the real attack would be at the southern gate, withdrew this battalion to support that position: to which he also moved all his available artillery, leaving, however, the ten pieces at Chapultepec, to return the fire of the enemy—the only force left in the fortress being the 11th regiment of the line, under Gen. Perez, and the battalion from Toluca. The latter, however, being excessively panic-struck from the effect of the American fire, deserted their posts whenever opportunity offered.

The force of Americans, under Gen. Twiggs, before the southern gates, appeared as if momentarily about to make an assault upon the city, while their fire of shot and shell was kept up without intermission, until near evening, when the fire upon Chapultepec was by far the most severe. This circumstance still confirmed the opinion of Santa Anna, that this last was but a feint—thinking that after the severe loss the Americans had sustained at Molino del Rey, that they would make no serious effort in that quarter. He visited Chapultepec in the evening, communicated with Gen. Bravo, and promised him assistance, if it should be needed, and again returned to the southern gates.

The fire of the American artillery, which, in addition to their own pieces, had been increased by so many captured guns, having been kept up with great vigor during the day, ceased at night, and both armies slept upon their arms—thus ended the 12th.

Now came the final struggle. On the morning of the 13th, at half past five, the American artillery reöpened its fire before the southern gates, and also from their batteries to the west, upon Chapultepec; this fire was returned with spirit. Santa Anna again placed the main body of his troops, near the southern gate of San Antonio, and awaited the attack. But before this gate, notwithstanding the heavy fire of artillery kept up, was only one division of the Americans, under Gen. Twiggs; and even a brigade of that, Gen. Smith's, was silently on its march toward Chapultepec, where, already in position for an attack, were three divisions of the Americans, under Generals Pillow, Quit-

man, and Worth, while Scott himself was near, directing the operations; thus, only a single brigade, that of Col. Riley, remained before the southern gate, keeping Santa Anna in suspense, and withdrawing his attention from Chapultepec. The commander of that fortress, Gen. Bravo, seeing the strong disposition of the enemy about him, was yet of a different opinion from Santa Anna, and still believing an assault was about to be made in force upon that place, sent to him for reinforcements, and received the brigades of Generals Rangel and Peña Barragan; but these were directed only to take position at the foot of the hill of Chapultepec, as a precautionary measure. To the earnest requests of Gen. Bravo, that they would come into the fortress, they answered that they could only do so by the orders of the President. This order not being given, Bravo was left to defend himself.

At a little before 9 A. M., the heavy firing of the enemy upon the fortress momentarily ceased (the concerted signal of attack), and immediately the division of Gen. Pillow moved from near Molino del Rey on the west, and came up through the wood, carrying, with the bayonet, a strong redoubt, situated about midway, and, impetuously advancing upon the ditches and walls of the fortification, though suffering heavily, threw up their scaling ladders, and rapidly following each other, poured upon the walls.

At the same time, another division, under Gen. Quitman, quickly approaching from the southeast, forcing their way over a long causeway, cut with ditches and fortified with barricades, overcoming all obstacles, and strewing their path with dead and wounded, rushed impetuously up that side of the hill, and entering the outer inclosure of the fortress, pressed into the desperate encounter, scaling the walls, and seemed to disregard the murderous fire poured upon them, and to court only death.

Simultaneously, at the command of Scott, Gen. Worth rapidly advanced from the west, where he had been stationed in rear of Pillow, passed around the northern base of the hill, joining a part of Pillow's division, already engaged with the right flank of the force under Generals Rangel and Barragan, routed it, and attacking their main body, sent them flying along the causeways in retreat toward the city, at the same moment that the fortress above, after nearly three hours defense, had yielded to the assault of Quitman and Pillow. Numerous flags of the Americans were rapidly appearing from the battlements, amid the long and joyous shouts of the victors in full possession.

Gen. Perez was killed, Gen. Bravo and a thousand of his command were taken prisoners, with all the artillery and ammunition. So sudden and furious had been the final assault, that not even the mines

were fired, which had been prepared under ground at the west of the fortress, to blow up the Americans as they approached; for these had moved so rapidly over the treacherous surface, in pursuit of the fugitives from the captured redoubt, that if they had been fired, the explosions would have destroyed as many friends as enemies. But at Bravo's command to fire them, the engineers in whose charge they were, had disappeared in the confusion of the battle, nor could they be found before the enemy were scaling the walls in every direction.

The surprise and mortification of Santa Anna at seeing himself so completely outgeneraled by Scott, and Chapultepec in possession of the enemy, were extreme; but with the utmost haste he detached the greater portion of his troops from their position near the gate of San Antonio, to meet the Americans, who were now rapidly advancing upon the garitas of San Cosme and Belen, he leaving only a small portion at the former garita, to defend it against the threatened assault of Gen. Twiggs; but even that was not necessary, for Gen. Scott, in a few moments after the capture of Chapultepec, ascended that fortress, and looking down on the city and the long causeways which led to it, covered by the flying battalions of Generals Rangel and Barragan, closely pursued by his own troops under Gen. Worth and Quitman—the former making for San Cosme to the left, and the latter toward Belen, from there directly opposite—immediately sent to their support all his available troops, reserving only one shattered regiment, the 15th, to garrison the fort; dispatching an order to Gen. Twiggs, who in compliance, withdrew his forces and artillery, and hastily marched for the scene of actual engagement.

The tables were completely turned upon Santa Anna. This stroke of policy of Gen. Scott had deranged all his preparations for defense; he had but few guns at the western gates, nor was there time now to remedy his mistake with regard to the intended point of attack.

Leading his forces rapidly up, at one P. M. he met the column under Gen. Quitman, furiously fighting for the possession of the garita of Belen, having taken the defenses on the causeway. The assault was vigorous—the defense desperate and bloody. Leaving this post, under command of Gen. Terres, supported by a strong reserve under Gen. Garay, and the guns of the citadel of Cuidadela, Santa Anna hastened further on, to the garita of San Cosme, where the troops of Gen. Worth, already in possession of several buildings, were fighting fiercely with Gen. Rangel, avoiding as much as possible the terrible fire poured upon them, by digging through the walls of the houses. All efforts to stay their progress were unavailing; blood flowed in torrents, but the enemy gained house after house, advancing into the city.

Night closed the fighting at the gate of Belen—Quitman throwing up defenses, and mounting the artillery sent to him. While at San Cosme, Worth at dark having obtained the full entrance, planted a heavy mortar and a piece of artillery, which threw shot and shells in numbers into the heart of the city.

At 10 P. M. Santa Anna called a council of officers at the citadel of Cuidadela, and because of the foothold which the enemy had obtained within the city, it was determined to evacuate it with the remaining troops, and retire by the northern road to Guadalupe, three miles distant. In this council, overwhelmed by his failures, Santa Anna lost his temper, and accused Gen. Terres and other officers, for that which he had only to blame himself—in being so deceived by the feints of Gen. Scott.

The retreat commenced at midnight, and soon after, Maj. Palacios, with a deputation from the ayuntamiento (common council), was sent by that body to Gen. Worth, with an offer of surrender. Being referred to Gen. Scott, at Tacubaya, the firing ceased while they proceeded to that place. Arriving there, at four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, they demanded terms of capitulation, which were refused, but protection promised, and they returned.

On the morning of the 14th September the two divisions of the American army entered the city—Worth halting at the Alameda or public garden, and Quitman after taking possession of the Cuidadela proceeding to the square in front of the national palace, upon which he hoisted the stars and stripes. Directly after Gen. Scott had arrived at the palace, a general insurrection took place, and furious efforts were made to expel the Americans. This raged with the utmost violence for over twenty-four hours, with great loss of life on both sides, but more especially among the citizens; for the exasperated soldiers broke into every house from which a shot had been fired, and put to death many there found within, and destroyed the property. By this severe measure, which was only adopted as a last extremity, the powerful insurrection was quelled. During it Santa Anna and Gen. Alvarez, each at the head of a body of cavalry, reëntered the city; but finding that all was lost, again retired—leaving the Americans in quiet possession.

Thus, had this small and gallant army, to the astonishment of the world, cut its way from the coast to the capital; and after the battles and captures of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Jalapa, Perote, Puebla, Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, Belen and San Cosme—a series of fights by which they had been reduced to six thousand—were in quiet possession of a city of two hun-

dred thousand inhabitants. Their losses and achievements in these late battles, are thus recapitulated by Gen. Scott, in his dispatch to government:

August 19, 20.—Killed, 137, including 14 officers. Wounded, 877, including 62 officers. Missing, probably killed, 38 rank and file. Total, 1052.

September 8.—Killed, 116, including 9 officers. Wounded, 665, including 49 officers. Missing, 18 rank and file. Total, 789.

September 12, 13, and 14.—Killed, 130, including 10 officers. Wounded, 703, including 68 officers. Missing, 29 rank and file. Total, 862.

Grand total of losses, 2703, including 383 officers.

On the other hand, this small force has beaten, on the same occasions, in view of their capital, the whole Mexican army, of (at the beginning) thirty-odd thousand men, posted always in chosen positions, behind intrenchments, or more formidable defenses of nature and art;* killed or wounded of that number more than seven thousand officers and men; taken 3730 prisoners, one seventh officers, including thirteen generals, of whom three had been presidents of the Republic; captured more than twenty colors and standards, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, beside fifty-seven wall-pieces, twenty thousand small arms, an immense quantity of shot, shells, powder, &c.

* The Mexican fortifications referred to, according to the report of Capt. Lee, of the American engineers, were as follows:

Penon,	20 batteries,	for 51 cannon, and	15 inf. breastworks.
Mexicalsingo,	8 "	38 "	1 "
San Antonio,	7 "	24 "	2 "
Churubusco,	2 "	15 "	"
Contreras,	1 "	22 "	"
Chapultepec,	7 "	19 "	7 "
At the city,	47 "	177 "	17 "
Total defenses,	92 batteries,	346 cannon,	42 inf. breastworks.

To these, must be added as defenses, the numerous canals which surrounded the city, and extended on either side of the long causeways. These canals were mostly twenty-five feet wide and five feet deep. The Casa Mata; the strong buildings of Molino del Rey; the adjoining breastworks and battery; and, the strong citadel of Cuidadela, must also be added to the account. And, also, the fortress-like construction of the stone, flatroofed, iron barred, parapetted houses of the city (from which alone the American army suffered much in the assault and subsequent insurrection), may be considered as defenses of the most formidable character.

CHAPTER VI.

Santa Anna resigns—Pena y Pena succeeds—Siege of Puebla—Battles of Huamantla and Atlixco—Santa Anna deprived of command—Santa Anna's "Exposition"—Election of President Anaya—Battle of Matamoras—Anaya's term expires—Pena y Pena again assumes the presidency—Movements of Gen. Lane—Santa Anna's last address—Signing of treaty of peace—The armistice—Circular of Rosa—Santa Anna—Paredes—Jarauta—Zenobia—Alvarez—Almonte—Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales—Condition of Yucatan—Treaty ratified by the senate of the U. S.—Arrival of American commissioners—Meeting of congress—Ratification of the treaty—Departure of American armies from Mexico—Gen. Herrera elected president—Revolution of Paredes and Jarauta.

General Quitman was immediately appointed governor of the city of Mexico, by Gen. Scott; and a number of orders were issued by him, with regard to the population, troops, &c.; the most important of which was the levying of a contribution upon the capital of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for the use of the American army. This was the first indication to the Mexicans of the decision of the government of the United States, to carry on the war in a more rigorous manner.

Santa Anna, in his altered circumstances, was not long in deciding upon his course. On the 14th, from Guadalupe, he dispatched circulars to the governors of the different states, informing them of the capture of the capital upon that day. On the 16th, from the same place, he issued a decree, in which he directed the meeting of congress on the 5th of October, at Queretaro—one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Mexico—as the future seat of government; and, announcing his determination immediately to attack the enemy's line of communication from Vera Cruz, as commander-in-chief of the army, he resigned the other important authority with which he was clothed, that of president of the republic, and in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of 1824, called to assume it, until congress should elect his successor, Don Emanuel Peña y Peña, chief-justice of the supreme court of Mexico, to be assisted by Generals Herrera and Alcorta. He then ordered Herrera, at the head of about four thousand troops, to march to Queretaro, and as soon as that body left, he, with two thousand cavalry under Gen. Alvarez, on the 18th

evacuated Guadalupe, and commenced his march for Puebla, to attack the American garrison there, leaving the vicinity of the capital in the undisputed possession of the enemy.

On the 27th of September, Peña y Peña, from Toluca, accepted the appointment of the powers of the provisional presidency, and after appointing Don Luis de la Rosa minister of foreign and internal relations, issued a circular to the governors of the states, accompanied by another from Rosa, urging upon the governors to expedite the meeting of the deputies in congress at Queretaro—to preserve order in the states, and by all possible means to assist the president "in making head against the tremendous difficulties of his situation," and "in sustaining the independence and nationality of Mexico, and preserving from every assault the federal institutions," &c. The president then proceeded to Queretaro; many of the members of congress soon followed—some of whom, having been taken prisoners by the Americans, were liberated for the purpose, and provided with passports of safety by Gen. Scott.

Leaving the review of the shattered government, thus attempting to reörganise itself, let us follow Santa Anna in his sudden movement against the Americans at Puebla. When the army of Gen. Scott left Puebla for the city of Mexico, on the 6th of August, Col. Childs had remained as governor, with a detachment of four hundred men, encumbered with eighteen hundred sick. This little force, in possession of the convent and the fortified hights near the city, held the place with its population of seventy thousand, in perfect quiet, during the time in which the battles of Contreras and Churubusco had been fought, and that also consumed by the armistice; but on the reception of the news of the rumored defeat of the Americans at Molino del Rey, on the night of the 13th of September, the populace rose, *en masse*, upon the American garrison. This attack was directed by Gen. Rea, a Spaniard by birth, and a good officer, who was then in command of about three thousand regular troops; it was continued night and day, without intermission, with cannon shot, but principally musketry. By the addition of the populace his forces increased daily, and the fierceness of the attack proportionably increased. But the little band of Americans seemed determined to die rather than to yield. From the hights of Loretto they poured down shot and shell upon the city; from the convent they made desperate sorties upon the buildings, from the tops and windows of which they were assailed by such a destructive fire; and in the hottest of the siege, afterward, digging though the walls of an entire square, they turned the barricades in the streets, burned them, and captured the guns.

Santa Anna arrived on the 22d, and took the command. His reinforcements increased the number of the assailants to eight thousand men, beside the populace. On the 25th he sent a communication to Col. Childs by a flag of truce, stating the amount of his army—that he had come to relieve the inhabitants of Puebla from the domination of the forces of the United States, from whom they had suffered so much; offered that the garrison might march out with the honors of war, and proceed either to join Gen. Scott, at the city of Mexico, or return to Perote; and finally, in case of noncompliance, threatened the most rigorous measures, &c. Col. Childs, in reply, denied that the citizens of Puebla had suffered at all from the troops of the United States—declined the proffered terms of surrender, stating that he had the necessary means, and should defend his position to the last.

For the space of six days and nights succeeding did Santa Anna make the most vigorous exertions with his whole force, to dislodge the Americans; but the latter withstood the continued assault with the firmness of a rock. There had been no action during the war in which the persevering valor and obstinacy of resistance of the American troops had been so brilliantly illustrated, as in this contest. With scarcely time to eat or sleep, they fought without intermission, from hour to hour, from day to day—the places of those who fell, in exposed situations, were instantly filled by others.

But another force threatened Santa Anna. Brig. Gen. Lane having left Vera Cruz on the 18th of September, had added to his command that of Major Lally,* at Jalapa, and was now rapidly approaching

* Major Lally's force, consisting of near a thousand men, with seventy-six wagons, had commenced the march for Puebla, from Vera Cruz, on the 7th of August. It having been reported that a million of dollars in gold was to be carried up by this train, Padre Jarauta, and Aburto, in command of the guerrilla forces, had, by the promise of fifty dollars a man, in case of success, induced three thousand men to join their standard. With this force Jarauta, on the 9th, attacked Lally, near San Juan; on the 10th, at Paso Ovijas; on the 12th, at Puente Nacional; on the 14th, on the road near Plan del Rio; on the 15th, at Cerro Gordo; on the 17th, at Lasanimas. Lally having thus fought his way through, arrived at Jalapa on the 20th, with a loss of one hundred and five men killed and wounded, not losing a single wagon. A reinforcement of two hundred men under Capt. Wells, however, which had been sent out from Vera Cruz with nine wagons of ammunition, on the 13th, to join Major Lally, was not so fortunate. Having been attacked on the 14th and 15th, the forces of Jarauta entirely defeated them at the national bridge, and captured all their wagons, with important dispatches. They retreated to Vera Cruz, with the loss of one fifth of their number killed, wounded, prisoners, and disabled from the heat and fatigue. Having met with this severe reception on the route, Major Lally remained at Jalapa until joined by Gen. Lane, a month afterward.

Perote, on his march to relieve the Americans at Puebla. This information being communicated to Santa Anna, from Jalapa, he withdrew half his men, on the 31st of September, with six pieces of artillery, from the attack on Col. Childs, and marched to meet Gen. Lane; but that general delaying at Perote longer than Santa Anna had expected, the latter took up his headquarters at Huamantla, having given orders to Rea to continue the attack upon, and subdue, the small garrison under Childs. There was no cessation to the conflict in Puebla. Gen. Rea left no means untried to subdue the garrison: nor did he retire until driven away by the approach of Lane, after the result of the battle fought by Santa Anna.

Gen. Lane, with about two thousand men, and two batteries of artillery, with a large wagon train, approached near Huamantla on the 8th, and on the following morning, leaving the train on the road in charge of part of his men, with the remainder he rapidly marched toward Huamantla, at the moment that Santa Anna had withdrawn most of his force from thence for the purpose of surprising Lane on the road. The Mexican troops left in town were at first dispersed by the American dragoons; but the Mexican general having ordered the main body of his force to their support, the Americans were repulsed, until in turn supported by their infantry, when the Mexicans were routed, with the loss of two pieces of artillery, and many killed and wounded. American loss, thirteen killed, eleven wounded (and according to Santa Anna's report, twenty-four prisoners).

Gen. Lane withdrew from the town after the battle, and the next day resumed his march, entering Puebla on the 13th; the last of the besieging forces retiring to Atlixco, and thus relieving the garrison, which had heroically sustained the attack of ten times their number for thirty days and nights. The Americans, thus reinforced, now became the assailants. Gen. Lane, on the 19th, marched toward Atlixco, ten leagues from Puebla, where the division of Rea had retired, and where the legislature of the state was then in session. He encountered the troops of Alvarez and Rea, and after a running fight —in which the latter retreated—came upon the hights overlooking the town after sunset, and, by a bright moonlight, cannonaded the place, by a well directed plunging fire, for nearly an hour, which caused great destruction. The Mexican troops continued their flight, joined by the members of the legislature and most of the inhabitants. The town was spared, on the application of the members of the ayuntamiento; was occupied that night, and searched for arms the next morning, after which the invaders returned to Puebla. This blow upon Atlixco, where many guerrilla parties had been fitted out,

and where a number of the principal opponents of peace had retired, struck much terror into the minds of all of these.

The battle of Huamantla was the close of the contests of Santa Anna with the armies of the United States. His troops were deserting him, and, in one week after that action he received a notice from Peña y Peña, through Rosa, directing him to turn over the command of the army to Gen. Rincon, who had been exchanged; or, until that general should arrive, unto Gen. Alvarez; and himself await the action of a court martial, before which to give an account of the numerous battles he had lost. This direction, so humiliating to him, he obeyed; and, turning the command over to Gen. Alvarez, took leave of his troops in an address, dated at Huamantla, October 16th, and retired to Tehuacan.

The events of the succeeding three months, or until the conclusion of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico, are not in themselves of so important a nature as those that have been related. President Peña y Peña arrived at Queretaro on the 12th of October, and appointed as his secretary of war Gen. Mora y Villamil.—On the 14th, Senor Rosa addressed another appeal to the deputies of congress, endeavoring to assemble that dilatory body. On the 20th, in the name of the president, he summoned the governors of the States of Puebla, Mexico, Queretaro, Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas, to meet the executive on the 10th of November, to consult on the exigencies of the nation. Peña y Peña—after suspending Santa Anna, and ordering Gen. Paredes (who had published a long address to his countrymen, from Tulancingo), into a nominal state of arrest at Teloloapan, and directing a court martial to investigate the conduct of Gen. Valencia at the battle of Contreras, according to his request—turned his attention to the state of the army; and attempted some reforms, which soon drew down upon him condemnation from the officers and soldiers thereof: to but little purpose, however, as they failed to intimidate him.

Among the deputies who were in attendance at Querétaro, the same dissensions appeared as formerly, with the addition of the formation of a new party, the Santanistas, or adherents of Santa Anna, who united their influence with the Puros, against the Moderados. The Monarquistas had no voice in the assembly, though they were most busy throughout the nation in disseminating their views, and with much apparent success.

While waiting for the assembly of a full quorum of congress, the deputies carried on the strife of politics; in which they were joined by the various papers of the city of Mexico, and the different states.

many of which particularly opposed the president's efforts to reform the army.

The remnant of the Mexican army, in all its divisions, at this time, was about as follows: At Querétaro, under Generals Lombardini and Reyes, one thousand men; Santa Anna's army, now under Gen. Rincon, four thousand; the garrisons of Mazatlan, La Sonora, and Acapulco, four thousand; in the states of Tobasco and Chiapas, two thousand; under Urrea, Carvajal, and Canales, two thousand; the brigade at Potosi, commanded by Gen. Fillisola, three thousand; at Toluca, under Gen. Peña y Barragan, two thousand; in the state of Oaxaca, one thousand; the whole force of the guerrillas from Vera Cruz to Puebla, three thousand; total force, thirty-one thousand men. The last item, however, of guerrilla forces, was shortly after this very much reduced by the attacks and operations of Gen. Lane, at Puebla, and Gen. Patterson, at Vera Cruz and Jalapa. Lane having a force of above 3000 men at Puebla, entirely prevented Generals Rincon,* Alvarez, and Rea, from making any demonstration in that state; while Gen. Patterson, with a force of nearly 4,000, broke up the various rendezvous of the guerrillas about Vera Cruz, and completely dispersed them. He garrisoned the strong hold at the national bridge; and leaving Vera Cruz with his main body, on 2d November, marched on to Jalapa, and routed them from that neighborhood—executing two of their officers, who had broken their parole, having been prisoners before. By the large number of American troops pouring into Vera Cruz, and these vigorous operations of their generals, the guerrillas were entirely dispersed, for the time. Padre Jarauta, pressed by Gen. Patterson, and knowing that in a few days Gen. Butler would issue from Vera Cruz, with yet another army of near 6,000 men, became disheartened, and on the 4th of November sent an offer of surrender to Gen. Patterson, at the national bridge; but not liking that general's answer, he left that section of country, with but a few followers, and proceeded to the vicinity of the city of Mexico, where he was again pursued, routed, and wounded, by the troops of Gen. Lane, whose name became terrible to the guerrillas. So completely was the road abandoned by them, at this period, that the first American return train, consisting of six hundred wagons and a proper escort, which left the city of Mexico on the 1st of November, for Vera Cruz, was not, during its passage of fifteen days, attacked in a single instance, or annoyed at any of the passes by a single hostile snot.

* Generals Rincon and Bravo being prisoners to the Americans, had been exchanged for Captains Heady, Clay, and others.

The inhabitants of the whole section of country, from the capital to the coast at Vera Cruz, were completely dispirited. A garrison of Americans, under Col. Hughes, was again placed in Jalapa.

A quorum of deputies having arrived at Queretaro, the Mexican congress opened its session on November 2d. Senor D. Jose Maria Godoy, from Guanajuato, was elected president of the body; and Senor D. Jose Maria Hernandez, from Durango, vice president.

One of the first subjects presented to the congress assembled, was a bold and novel communication or "Exposition," as he termed it, from Gen. Santa Anna, written on November 1st, from his retirement at Tehuacan. Always fond of power, and smarting under the order of Peña y Peña, deposing him from the command of the army, and informed of all the proceedings at Queretaro—of the increase of the Santanistas—of the disaffection of the multitude of army officers at the attempted reforms, he judged it a proper time to regain his lost station. In a communication to Peña y Peña of the same date as his "Exposition," he contended, that he never did resign the office of president in explicit terms; that he only temporarily submitted to a division of that office from the power of commander-in-chief, with which he again took the field; and that the circumstances which led to that having ceased, he now claimed the office of president, until congress should, in due form, accept his resignation then given, and now repeated, &c., &c.

In the "Exposition" he urged the same positions, and finally asked congress to accept his resignation in legal form.

The effect of this would have been, to pronounce Peña y Peña's administration an usurpation of power; and, consequently, his acts—and among them the deposing of Santa Anna, void; and would thus have left the latter, after his resignation of the office of president had been accepted, yet at the head of the army. The plan of Santa Anna was, however, unsuccessful; and he still remained at Tehuacan.

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Puros and Santanistas, the Moderados triumphed in the election. The former president substitute, Anaya, was elected to the presidency, to occupy that station until the counting of the votes from the different states, which had been postponed, as before mentioned, by the influence of Santa Anna, until January 8th, 1848.

The administration of Anaya thus continued only two months. He retained the ministers of Peña y Peña in office, adding to the cabinet that personage himself. The whole tenor of the acts of his term were towards the completion of a peace with the United States; and a secret communication was opened with Mr. Trist, the commissioner

of the United States, for that meeting which resulted in the appointment of commissioners by Anaya for that purpose; and by the middle of December, these negotiations, based on the former proposals of the American commissioner, were in a state of forwardness; entirely unknown, however, to the body of the nation, or to the disaffected parties.

The Mexican congress having, after a session of a few days, made provision for a new congress to be assembled on the 1st of January, 1848, closed its labors. Most of the members dispersed; all the opposing leaders, and many of the old deputies, however, remaining at Queretaro. Against Anaya's course, and against a peace, the Puros, headed by Gomez Farias, issued a strong manifesto; while the Santanistas endeavored to get up a pronunciamento, or revolution, in which they were joined by the disaffected officers of the army, who saw in a continuation of the war their only hope even of subsistence. The firm front, however, of the president, who called together the faithful troops, and planted artillery in the streets, gave no hope of success to them, while the manifesto of the Puros was productive of but little effect. The nation generally, especially near the scenes of action, were becoming weary of the war, and at heart in favor of peace upon any honorable terms. To this, however, there were many exceptions.

While the assembly of governors of states, which had been directed by Peña y Peña, had resolved, generally, to support the existing administration of Anaya, by assistance in funds and influence, and in keeping order in the various departments; and while the governor of the state of Puebla, Señor Don Isunza, had, without request, sent in to Governor Childs, at the city of Puebla, all the American prisoners under his control;—the states of Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, and Jalisco, influenced by the Puros and Santanistas, formed a coalition for the purpose of carrying on the war by themselves, and throwing embarrassments in the way of the administration. Santa Anna, too, from Tehuacan, sent in his official account of the battles which resulted in the loss of the capital; excusing his own part, saying not a word of his own failure in anticipating the designs of the enemy, but laying the whole fault of the loss of Chapultepec at the door of General Bravo. This produced much effect among the officers of the army and Santanistas generally, and drew from Bravo a long defense of his conduct. President Anaya, fully sustaining the action of his predecessor Peña y Peña, with regard to Santa Anna, and disregarding the united action of the Puros and Santanistas, firmly held on his way, supported by his cabinet, determined to have peace concluded;—

the other opposition to his policy, though not shown at Queretaro, was widely extending itself under the action of the Monarquistas. Padre Jarauta, now arrived in the valley of Mexico, joined this party; and meeting Paredes, entered into a full compact to support him; though he remained for the present to act with General Rea, in command of guerrillas, against the Americans.

Although the commissioner of the United States was in communication with those of Mexico, and a treaty was in a state of forwardness, the operations of the American forces did not appear to have reference toward the immediate conclusion of a peace. The President of the United States had officially announced that the powers of the commissioner were ended, and that he was recalled.* Troops more numerous had been poured into the southern portion of Mexico. The northern army, under General Taylor, had been weakened to strengthen the southern, to such an extent, that that general had left the command to General Wool, and returned to the United States. While large bodies were arriving every day at Vera Cruz, General Lane, General Patterson, General Butler, and General Marshall, were sweeping on with new forces from the coast to the capital. Already the American army in the south numbered nearly thirty thousand men; while fresh troops in New Mexico, under General Price, had effectually subdued all symptoms of rebellion, and again were advancing upon Chihuahua. The forces of the Americans had also been

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* The efforts of the American commissioner to negotiate a peace were great and unremitted, but appeared to be made more on his own account than on that of his government. No sooner had the American army triumphantly entered the capital, than Mr. Trist, under date of September 20, addressed a note to the government of Pena y Pena, with the information that he was still ready to negotiate terms of peace. This communication was for some time unanswered; and on the 31st of October, the reply of Rosa, the Mexican minister, was, that with every desire for peace, he doubted whether any good results would be accomplished. Three weeks after this time, on the 22d November, Pena y Pena, then secretary under Anaya, by direction of the latter, again wrote to Trist, reviewing all past correspondence, appointing commissioners, &c. The American commissioner replied on the 24th, that his authority was revoked, and himself recalled. (This had been twice done by the American government, once under date of October 2d, and again on October 26th.) Three days after this reply to Anaya's administration, Trist replied to his own recall, and dispatched that to Washington City; then renewed the correspondence with Pena y Pena, through influence of a mediating party at Queretaro, and declared that he would personally assume the responsibility of concluding a peace with the Mexican government, if they were strong enough to make it. This led immediately to the appointment of commissioners for that purpose, who, on December 9th, met at Guadalupe Hidalgo, near Mexico.

increased in California; while the strong port of Mazatlan, on the Pacific, after a long blockade, had fallen before the squadron of Commodore Shubrick. The American frigate Congress, the sloop of war Portsmouth, and one small merchant brig, all under the command of Commodore Lavallette, had appeared before the port of Guaymas, also on the Pacific, on the 15th October, and planting mortars on the islands in the harbor, on the 19th cannonaded and bombarded that town, and took possession of it.

General Rea, who, by order of the president, now commanded in the state of Puebla, had established his head quarters in the town of Matamoros, fifty-five miles from the city. His force consisted of near eight hundred men, with three pieces of artillery. Early in the morning of the 23d of October, he was surprised by the American general, Lane, who had marched during the night from Puebla, with one hundred and sixty mounted men and one piece of artillery. The suddenness of this unexpected attack completely routed the forces of Rea, which precipitately fled from the streets, with the loss of sixty men; leaving their artillery, a great quantity of small arms and ammunition, one hundred horses, and twenty-one American prisoners who had been in their hands.

Lane remained in the town during the day and the next night, occupied in destroying the stores, &c.; and on the morning of the 24th commenced his return for Puebla; but was met by the whole force of Rea in the mountain pass of Galaxra, and another battle ensued. The advance of the Americans drove in that of Rea, but were forced to retire before the main body of the Mexicans; but, on being supported by their artillery, Rea withdrew from its range, and confined his operations to harassing the Americans as they continued their march towards Atlixco, near which place he drew off his command; and the Americans, having accomplished their object, returned to Puebla.

The character of the war had now changed; and the American government declared that the conquered country should thereafter bear the burdens of the war.

Measures more strict were at once ordered by General Scott, with regard to the guerrillas, directing such to be shot when taken, as well as those who had before broken their parole. On account of the frequency of the latter occurrence, he had refused to parole the numerous prisoners he had taken at the battles near the city, until the Archbishop of Mexico interceded for them, and administered to them each the oath, granting them a certificate signed by himself and the first alcalde of the city, and being himself responsible for them. This,

together with the summary punishment of the officers shot at Jalapa by General Patterson, had a strong effect upon the people of the country Though at Orizaba a strong guerrilla force still remained, under the command of Colonel Zenobia, who, a little after this time, on January 4th, at Santa Fe, near Vera Cruz, making an attack on the rear of an American train, under Colonel Miles, killed many Americans, and captured three hundred pack mules bearing near one hundred thousand dollars worth of property.

On the 31st of December, the American commander issued an order levying assessments on the several Mexican states as follow, in article 1st of said order:

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
MEXICO, December 31, 1847.

[General Order—No. 395.]

1. To support, in part, the military occupation of the republic of Mexico by the army of the United States, the several states of this republic, already occupied, and others as they shall become occupied, are, or will be assessed, by the year, in dollars, as follows:

Chihuahua, $49,188; Coahuila, $5,659; Chiapas, $21,692; Durango, $85,556· Guanajuato, $255,876; Jalisco, $236,338; Mexico, state and federal district, $668,-332; Michoacan, $287,712; Nueva Leon, $50,437; Puebla, 424,276; Oaxaca, $84,-160; Queretaro, $85,944; San Luis, $111,260; Sinaloa, $33,524; Sonora, $5,000; Tobasco, $59,060; Tamaulipas, $71,332; Vera Cruz, $271,548; Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes, reunited, $249,076.

[By the second article, all transit duties were abolished, and the tobacco monopoly; the third article made the governors and revenue collectors responsible for the amounts; article fourth, provided that the said sums should become due, from any state, from the first day of the month in which the American troops occupied the same; fifth article provided, that part of the amount might be paid in subsistence and forage; sixth article declared, that in case of failure in payment by any state, the property of the public functionaries should be seized and confiscated to pay it; the seventh article provided, that in case the foregoing did not satisfy the demand, that the commanding officer of the United States' troops in the said state should make the amount from the property of the wealthier inhabitants; eighth, declared that receipts should be given by the quartermasters, paymasters, and commissaries; ninth, stated that all the dues heretofore collected, from the tax on gold and silver, for the use of the Mexican government, should be continued for the use of the American army; tenth, stated the rate of tax on production, on smelting, on assaying, and on coinage, &c. of the precious metals; eleventh, appointed the places for collection of said tax; twelfth, made the like penalties for nonpay-

ment of this tax as mentioned in articles sixth and seventh, and provided for receipts for the same as in article eighth; thirteenth, announced the intention of spreading the American troops over the republic of Mexico, and gave strong commands to the American soldiers for their proper government, &c.; fourteenth, declared that the laws of war would be observed towards all Mexicans in arms who should observe those laws; but for the treatment of guerrillas, refers to the previous order (in which they were to receive no quarters—if taken prisoners, to be tried by a drumhead court martial, and if found guilty, shot instanter).]

The promulgation of this order produced a great effect among the Mexican people; many of whom, of all parties, began seriously to fear for the preservation of their nationality.

Several causes of dispute had existed, previous to this, between the ayuntamiento of the city and the American governor, General Smith,* in each of which the council were forced to yield to the strong arm of power. On the 26th of December, the governor dissolved the ayuntamiento, against their will, and installed a new set of members.

Immediate measures were taken, by the American commander, for the collection of the revenues as mentioned in the foregoing articles. A force of a regiment of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, under Colonel Withers, proceeded to the silver mines of Real del Monte; and preparations were also apparent among the American troops, for their onward movements in occupying the whole republic. At Queretaro, the population became exceedingly alarmed, and many of the families able to do so, removed themselves and their effects far into the interior.

The 1st of January, 1848, arrived, but no congress was assembled; not more than thirty of the deputies could be mustered. The 8th came on — they were still unassembled. President Anaya's term of office being expired, he relinquished the presidency again into the hands of Peña y Peña, who assumed it, as before, by his right of chief justice; and ex president Anaya immediately entered the cabinet as minister of war, Don Riva Salacio as minister of justice, while Señor Rosa, before in Peña y Peña's administration, was appointed as minister of internal and foreign relations.

The new president showed himself as favorable to the conclusion of a peace as his predecessor had been. In a few days after he had assumed the direction of affairs, a pronunciamento was made by Ma-

* The first governor, General Quitman, left for the United States on the 1st of November.

riano Avila, governor of the state of San Luis Potosi, and a special decree issued by him on January 12th, repudiating the acts of the government at Queretaro; declared the ties that bound the states together severed; stating the intention of that state to carry on the war; inviting the coöperation of the other states; and calling for a convention of such states as might adopt these principles, to adopt a chief executive, &c., &c. This plan, however, met with not much favor; the governor being arrested, by order of the legislature, on his attempt to promulgate it as a law. The people of the state of Oajaca slightly responded to it, and a revolutionary movement at the same time took place, under the direction of General Alvarez, in the state of Mexico, in which the governor, Olaguibel, was deposed; but this, too, soon subsided. The pronunciamento had, however, the effect to draw a long message to the people from Peña y Peña, another from Rosa, and a third from General Bustamente, to whom the command of the revolutionary forces was offered—all condemning the movement, and advancing opinions favorable to peace. The latter general, immediately after this, was appointed commander in chief of the Mexican army, and issued another address to his countrymen, announcing that fact.

The operations of the Americans, though not extensive, were active; notwithstanding the commissioners had met to treat of peace. Gen. Valencia and his aid, Col. Arista, were taken prisoners, on the night of January 1st, at the hacienda of the former, by a detachment of Americans who were in pursuit of Padre Jarauta. Generals Miñon, Torrejon, and Gaund, were also captured by Col. Dominguez, commander of a company of Mexicans in the service of the U. States. Toluca was taken possession of, on January 12th, by the American general, Cadwallader. Cuernavanaca also was occupied by Colonel Clark. Jarauta was suddenly attacked, on January 12th, at Teotihuacan, by Col. Hays, eight of his men killed, and himself wounded. In the night of the 22d, General Santa Anna, at Tehuacan, was informed that a force of Americans from the capital, under the indefatigable General Lane, was advancing upon him by forced marches. Hardly had he availed himself of this information to escape with his followers, before the American troops entered the place. Disappointed in securing Santa Anna, who retired to Coscatlan, they proceeded on to Orizaba, taking possession of that city and then of Cordova; breaking up the rendezvous of guerrillas under command of Colonel Zenobia, and destroying all arms and public stores. General Lane, in returning to Puebla, made a rapid circuit to Teotihuacan, in pursuit of Padre Jarauta and General Rea, cut to pieces a detachment of Rea's

force under command of Colonel Falcon, and spread the utmost consternation through the entire country. Returning to Mexico on February 9th, General Lane, with the same command, made a secret and rapid march on the 17th, towards Tulancingo, with the object of taking Gen. Paredes prisoner; but that officer escaped, by fleeing from his house a few minutes before it was surrounded. Padre Jarauta, with three hundred men, was at Sequaltaplan at this time; but on the second day after, at sunrise, he, too, was surprised by the sudden appearance of Lane's dragoons; his force was routed and dispersed, with the loss of one hundred killed, more wounded, and fifty prisoners taken. Jarauta escaped with only a few men, completely dispirited and dismayed. The command of Lane again returned to the capital.

This was the last fighting near the valley of Mexico; for, on the 2d of February, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, the efforts of the respective commissioners had resulted in the signing of a definite treaty of peace between the Mexican republic and the United States. A copy of this treaty had been immediately dispatched to the government of the United States at Washington, for ratification, and another to the Mexican government at Queretaro. By this treaty (which is hereafter inserted in full, as signed by the commissioners), a military convention was agreed upon, for the arrangement of the terms for the suspension of hostilities, while the two governments should be acting upon the ratification of the treaty. The armistice thus agreed upon was not concluded till the 29th of February, upon which all offensive operations on the part of the invaders ceased, and they remained quietly in possession of the captured cities and posts.

While the American army had been in possession of the capital, difficulties had arisen between General Scott, its commander in chief, and Generals Worth and Pillow, and other officers, which resulted in a court of inquiry being directed by the government of the United States. General Scott was suspended, and Major General Wm. O. Butler appointed commander in chief. Scott yielded up the command of the American army to Butler on February 19th.

On the other hand, General Santa Anna's position with the Mexican government had become still more unpleasant. After the reply of General Bravo to his official accounts of the battle at the city, he again addressed a communication to the congress, complaining that his reports were misconstrued; but by this communication he aroused another opponent, General Terres, who had never forgiven him for the gross insults placed upon the latter at the citadel of Cuidadela, on the memorable night of the 13th September, immediately previous

to the evacuation of the capital. The power and popularity of Santa Anna, for the present, were completely gone. His former friends were unwilling to protect him. When flying from the sudden and unexpected attack of General Lane, into the state of Oajaca, the people there refused to shelter him, or even allow him to remain. From having been the president of the republic, a dictator in power, commander of all the armies of the nation, he saw himself a fugitive, refused, by one of the smaller states, even an asylum from the pursuit of his enemies. While in this situation, he addressed the following communication to Anaya, minister of war, the last from him; for, shortly afterwards, having obtained his passports, countersigned by the American commander, he was escorted from Jalapa to the coast at Antigua, near Vera Cruz, by a battalion of American artillery, and there embarked for Jamaica. Time only will show whether he will again appear upon the changing political arena of the unhappy republic of Mexico.

CASCATLAN, February 1, 1848.

Most excellent sir: At Tehuacan I was preparing the accompanying note, to be forwarded to your excellency, when the people were suddenly invaded early in the morning of the 24th ult., by four hundred dragoons of the enemy, under the command of Gen. Lane. They came from Mexico, and by the express order of Gen. Scott, to take possession of my person in some way or other. Gen. Lane, by hurried marches and journeying by night, succeeded in reaching the vicinity of Tehuacan without being perceived. Fortunately, however, I was informed of his approach two hours before he came, and thus was safe from his clutches with my family; and with a small escort which accompanied me, I took refuge in the town of Teotitlan del Camiro, where there was a force from the state of Oajaca. My persecutors forced open the doors of my habitation, and searched for me with extraordinary activity, extending their search to different houses of the place. The greater part of my equipage was destroyed by the invading soldiers, and their chiefs took my wrought silver plate, two canes, a new uniform, and other things of less value, as I have been informed.

After two days Gen. Lane proceeded to Orizaba, where he remains, having left no very favorable recollections of himself in Tehuacan. I left for this place in order to look about me, and see whither I shall go, and place myself beyond the reach of the enemy, now that I cannot fight against them, in consequence of the mournful condition to which I have been reduced by the government, which ordered that I should throw aside my arms. I am sensible that spurious Mexicans and the invaders persecute me at the same time—the one calling me a *traitor*, and the other the *only obstacle to the negotiation of a peace.* Fatal position in which I have been placed by the injustice of several of my fellow citizens.

When I shall have found an asylum which offers sufficient security, I shall make it known to your excellency, for the information of the first magistrate of the republic, in compliance with my duty.

Receive the consideration of my particular esteem. God and Liberty.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To his excellency the Minister of War.

On the next page is the "accompanying note" mentioned above:

Most excellent sir : The world has witnessed the solemnity and formality with which I was called to my country from the exile imposed upon me, in consequence of our political discords. It is notorious, also, that abandoning my own convenience with pleasure, I have been anxious to meet the expectations which that high honor created, to the extent of my ability, omitting no means or sacrifice. Providence is wise and just. But incomprehensible in its works, it has not this time vouchsafed to favor the Mexican people with victory, and all their great and extraordinary efforts have been of no avail. A circumstance so lamentable, has induced some dastard enemies to go to the extent of calling me a traitor, taking advantage of their being out of harm's way thus to stigmatize me. They forget, that when I was in power and had the ability to make them suffer for their grave offenses, I was prodigal of every favor and attention to them. In vain do they see my fortune ruined by the hands of the invader, and the frankness with which from my private purse I paid the soldiers who marched in the campaign, receiving no indemnity for the obvious dangers through which I run on the field of battle; and, in a word, that before consenting to a degrading peace, I preferred the hazards of war.

Because fortune has denied me her favors, and I have failed in my enterprises, without regard to the generous frankness with which I resigned power in order to continue the campaign, I was suddenly withdrawn from the theater of the war, in violation of the fundamental law, deeply wounded in my feelings, and abandoned to this retirement for more than three months, as if for no other reason than that an ignominious peace might be ever present to my thoughts. It would seem to have been due, also, that I might patiently suffer, without being able to defend myself from the outrages and treacherous insults which cowardly Mexicans inflicted upon me through the press, in presence of the invaders whom I had fought. The discredit, which conduct so infamous always brings upon an afflicted country, did not restrain them. To this is to be added, that, to enable me to live out of the way of the banditti traveling about here in large parties, I have had to spend more than two thousand dollars, necessary to maintain a small escort, when through the scarcity of means in the treasury, I served my country without pay.

Under such circumstances, when my services seem unnecessary, my situation has been most painful, no one can justly reproach me if I employ myself in providing for my innocent family; and if, in consequence, I have determined to seek an asylum on a foreign soil, where I can pass my last days in that tranquillity which I can never find in the land of my birth. A victim at one time to the fury of factions, persecuted by them without mercy, I can scarcely fail to doubt, that my misfortune will go so far even, as to see me deprived of the consolation which man has in dying and being buried in the land of his fathers, though I have moistened it with my blood, and fought to have a cemetery.

This conviction induces me to solicit, as I now respectfully do, due permission of the supreme government, to leave this republic, taking my journey as circumstances shall permit. And I expect of your excellency, that this being accorded as I ask, that you will do me the favor of sending to this place, with all possible dispatch, a passport in regular form. I can sincerely assure you, that the honorable distinctions which the magnanimity of the nation has thought me worthy of, for such services as I have been able to render it, will forever live in my memory, and that my gratitude for its singular favor shall be eternal.

I have the honor to offer to your excellency the considerations of my particular esteem. God and Liberty. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

To his excellency the Minister of War. *Tehuacan, January* 22, 1848.

Although this was sent to the minister of war on the 1st of February, Santa Anna was not able to leave the country for more than a month afterwards. Both the treaty and the armistice had been concluded before he left the coast, on the 5th of March, after a varied residence of nineteen months, from the period of his recall from banishment by the revolution of Gen. Salas.

Below are given in full the terms of the armistice, which terminated all the operations of the Americans, so destructive of every hope of the Mexican people. Following the armistice is given the treaty, as signed by the commissioners. The articles that were expunged by the senate of the United States are so designated.

As the armistice closed the hostilities, it is given first, though the treaty is of previous date.

MILITARY CONVENTION FOR THE PROVISIONAL SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES.

The undersigned met, in the city of Mexico, on the 29th of February, 1848, for the purpose of complying with the second article of the treaty of peace, which was signed at the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2d instant, in which it is agreed as follows:

"Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner, or commissioners, appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place; and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be reëstablished, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation."

When, having mutually exhibited and examined their respective full powers, which were found full and satisfactory, they agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.—There shall be an absolute and general suspension of arms and hostilities throughout the whole Republic of Mexico between the forces of the United States of America, and those of the United Mexican States, and consequently, immediately after the publication of this convention for the suspension of hostilities, in any place or district, no act of hostility of any kind shall be committed by the forces of either party; and if any person or persons be guilty of any breach of this article, they shall be individually liable to be tried and condemned under the laws of war.

Article II.—The troops of the United States shall not advance beyond the positions already occupied by them, toward any part of the Mexican territory not now in their possession, nor extend in any manner the limits of their present occupation; nor shall the troops of the United States advance from the positions now occupied by them; but each party may move freely and peaceably, as they find most convenient, within the limits of their occupation—neither passing through a territory occupied by the other.

Article III.—All persons of either nation, not belonging to the army, may travel without molestation wherever business may call them, subject to the laws of the country; but all persons belonging to the army, traveling from the posts of one toward those of the other, shall be accompanied by a flag of truce or a safe conduct.

Article IV.—In the Federal District, and in all States occupied by the American troops, the collection of all the contributions of war provided for by General Orders Nos. 376 and 395, of the commander-in-chief of said forces, due or becoming due for the months of February and March, shall be suspended until the expiration of this convention; and upon the ratification by the Mexican government of the treaty of peace signed on the 2d inst., all such contributions for the months of February and March, and afterward, shall be entirely remitted. But the tax on gaming houses, liquor shops, and places of public amusement shall continue to be collected as now, in each place occupied by the American troops, until the exchange of the ratifications

of the treaty, without prejudice to the rights of the municipal authorities to collect taxes as heretofore.

Article V.—With a view to the reëstablishment of constitutional order as regards the political, administrative and judicial branches, it is agreed, that in all places occupied by the American forces, the citizens of the Mexican Republic shall be free to exercise all their political rights in electing and installing the general, state, and municipal authorities which belong to the territorial divisions fixed by the Mexican laws and constitution. The American authorities will respect the exercise of those rights, and will consider those as duly elected, who are held as such by the Mexican government. And in like manner will be considered those civil appointments made by the Mexican general or state government.

Article VI.—Whenever an election is to be held in any town or place occupied by the American troops, upon due notice thereof being given to the commanding officer, he shall march the whole of his force out of the limits of such town or place, and there remain with them until after the hour at which such elections should be concluded, leaving within the town or place only the force necessary for the security of his barracks, hospitals, stores and quarters.

And no person belonging to the American army shall by any means, or on any consideration, attempt to obstruct or interfere with any elections; in order that they may be conducted according to the Mexican law. In Vera Cruz the troops shall retire within the walls of the fortifications, and there remain until the elections are concluded.

Article VII.—The Mexican authorities, whether general, state, or municipal, shall have full liberty to establish and collect, in the places occupied by the American troops, all taxes and revenues in conformity with the laws of the country, to appoint all officers and agents necessary for the purpose, to dispose of such revenues as they may think fit, without any intervention on the part of the American troops; excepting from this stipulation, all duties collected in the custom houses, all internal duties on transit, and those collected on the precious metals in the places occupied.

But if the Mexican government desire to reëstablish the tobacco monopoly, it shall give public notice of its intention sixty days, to be counted from the date of this convention, in order that the holders of that article may have time to dispose of it. Nor shall any tax be laid upon any one belonging to the American army, nor on its necessary supplies.

Article VIII.—In all places of the Mexican Republic, the revenue and administrations of the post office shall be reëstablished as they previously existed. All post houses, post-offices, public stages, horses, mules, and other means of transportation, shall receive the protection of the forces of both parties, and the whole shall be managed and conducted by the persons appointed in conformity with the law, by the Mexican government.

Article IX.—Should there be any stock or deposit of tobacco, stamped paper, or playing cards or other articles of commerce belonging to the Mexican government, or to that of any of the States, in any place occupied by the American troops, and of which they have not taken possession; such articles may be freely taken possession of by the Mexican government, and transported in such manner, and to such places, as may suit its convenience.

Article X.—Immediately after the publication of this convention, all public offices not in the occupation of the American troops, and all archives, utensils, and furniture of such offices shall be delivered up to the officers of the general or State governments; and as soon as other convenient places can be provided for the troops and officers now occupying them, all convents of nuns, colleges for education, public hospitals, and other buildings for charitable purposes, shall be immediately vacated and delivered up.

Article XI.—In all places occupied by the American troops, the federal and state courts of justice, and civil tribunals of every grade, may enter freely and without any interruption, upon the exercise of their appropriate functions in conformity with the Mexican law. Nor will the American military tribunals, created by their authority, take cognizance of, or interfere in any cause or matter, unless a person belonging to the American army be originally a party, or the interest of the American government or army be concerned; in which cases the jurisdiction shall remain in them; and the Mexican tribunals recognized and to be respected by the American army, shall be those

designated as legal by the proper authority of the Mexican general or state governments respectively.

ARTICLE XII.—In the federal district there may be organized and armed, a force of six hundred men of police or national guard, to preserve order and maintain police, and in other places occupied by the American forces, the commanders thereof, and the Mexican civil authorities shall agree on the establishment of a convenient force for similar purposes.

ARTICLE XIII.—In future, as heretofore, in all the places occupied, Mexicans, or foreigners resident in Mexico, shall enjoy the protection of person and property guarantied by the constitution and laws of the Republic; and as has heretofore been done, all supplies taken for the American army shall be paid for at fair prices.

ARTICLE XIV.—The commanding officers of the American forces on the northern frontier of Mexico shall use all their influence to prevent the incursions of savages into the Mexican territory, and the robbery and ill-treatment of the inhabitants. And the Mexican forces may assemble, oppose, and pursue said Indians, even within the lines occupied by the American troops, without being considered as infringing the provisions of this convention.

ARTICLE XV.—The American army will continue to respect as hitherto, the temples and free exercise of the religion of the people of the Mexican Republic, in public and private; and church property shall be subject only to such laws as were in existence, or may be passed by the Mexican government.

ARTICLE XVI.—If any body of armed men be assembled in any part of the Mexican Republic, with a view of committing hostilities, not authorised by either government, it shall be the duty of either or both of the contracting parties to oppose and disperse such body, without considering those who compose it as having forfeited the protection of the laws of nations, unless they have been guilty of robbery or murder. The performance of this duty shall not be considered an infraction of this convention

ARTICLE XVII.—This convention shall remain in force during the period fixed by the treaty signed on the 2d instant, at Guadalupe Hidalgo; or, until one party shall give to the other notice of its termination with the following additional delay, viz.: Five days for all places within sixty leagues of the capital, seven days for all places within ninety leagues, and twenty days for all other places. The ratification of this convention shall be exchanged at Mexico, within seven days from its signature.

In faith of which this convention has been signed in quadruplicate by the commissioners, the day, month, and year first mentioned.

IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL,
BENITO QUIJANO,
W. J. WORTH, Bvt. Maj. Gen.
PERSIFOR F. SMITH, Bvt. Brig. Gen.

This is a true copy of the original, which was approved of in the city of Queretaro by the general-in-chief of the army, by order of his excellency the president, which was communicated to us with the note of his excellency the minister of war, under date of March 4, which follows:

"On this day I transmit to the general-in-chief of the army of operations at Queretaro, the following copy:

"His excellency, the president *pro tem.*, in a council with the ministers, has examined the armistice, agreed between the Mexican Generals Don Ignacio de Mora y Vilamil and Don Benito Quijano, and the generals of the American army, Worth and Smith, and you are hereby authorised, as general-in-chief of the army of operations, to give your signature to the said document accompanying those two originals, signed by the aforesaid generals.

"After having ratified these documents, you will forward them to this office."

In consequence of this order, the general-in-chief has sanctioned the armistice, the copy of which I return, with the two copies that you transmitted me, with your note of the 2d of the present month, to be ratified by the general-in-chief of the North American army. Be pleased to send it to this office so that it be published in due form of law.

IGNACIO DE MORA Y VILLAMIL,
BENITO QUIJANO.

Ratified by me, in the city of Mexico, the 5th of March, 1848.

W. O. BUTLER,
Major General U. S. A. Commanding.

TREATY

Of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, and ratified with the amendments, by the American Senate, March tenth, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

In the name of Almighty God:

The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two republics, and to establish, on a solid basis, relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits on the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony, and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live as good neighbors, have, for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries; that is to say, the President of the United States has appointed N. P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Conto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, between the United States of America, and the Mexican Republic.

Article I.—There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, without exception of places or persons.

Article II.—Immediately on the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place; and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be reëstablished, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

Article III.—Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this treaty shall then have been ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic) immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports; and requiring the former (under the same condition), to commence at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all the troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues; and such evacuation of the interior of the republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march, and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner, orders shall be dispatched to the persons in charge of the custom houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorised by the Mexican government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debt for duties on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports, and on exports, collected at such custom houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of the ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection, and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after th

orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of said troops, or sooner if possible.

Article IV.—Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, all castles, forts, territories, places, and possessions, which have been taken and occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be dispatched to the American officer commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of intrenchments surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulations, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, &c.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican Republic hereby engaging, as in the foregoing article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the general-in-chief of the said troops and the Mexican government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as comprehending the sickly season, shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed, that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives, and cause them to be restored to their country.

Article V.—The boundary line between the two republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo Del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea: from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence westwardly along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso), to its western termination, thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map, entitled "Map of the United Mexican States, as organised and defined by various acts of the Congress of said Republic, and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell." Of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned plenipotentiaries. And in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line, drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean—distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port

of San Diego, according to the plan of said port, made in the year 1782, by Don Juan Pantojer, second sailing master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid, in the year 1802, in the atlas to the voyage of the schooners Sutil and Mexicana, of which plan a copy is hereunto added, signed and sealed by the respective plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish on the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratification of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals, and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the general government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

Article VI.—The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado, below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article; it being understood, that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the river Colorado; and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican government.

If, by the examination that may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railway, which should, in whole or in part, run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the governments of both republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

Article VII.—The river Gila, and the part of the Del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo, below said boundary, shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right—not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels, or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandise, or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either republic, within its established limits.

Article VIII.—Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain, for the future, within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove, at any time, to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, or tax, or charge whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in said territory, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their selection within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexican citizens, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire property by contract, shall enjoy, with respect to it, guarantees equally ample, as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

Article IX.—The Mexicans, who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. In the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them, according to the Mexican laws. With respect to political rights, their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of the other territories of the United States, and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when those provinces, by transfer from the French Republic, and the crown of Spain, became territories of the United States.

The most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religious corporations, or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry, as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind, whether individual or corporate. This guaranty shall embrace all temples, houses, and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship; as well as all property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals, or other foundations for charitable or beneficial purposes. No property of this nature shall be considered as having become the property of the American government, or as subject to be by it disposed of, or diverted to other uses.

Finally, the relations and communication between Catholics, living in the territories aforesaid, and their respective ecclesiastical authorities, shall be open, free, and exempt from all hindrance whatever, even although such authorities should not reside within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as defined by this treaty; and this freedom shall continue so long as a new demarkation of ecclesiastical districts shall not have been made conformably with the laws of the Roman Catholic church.

[This article is expunged, and in its stead, the Senate has adopted and inserted substantially, the third article of the treaty with France of 1803, for the cession of Louisiana, to the effect that inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as congress shall determine, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.]

Article X.—(Expunged.)—All grants of land made by the Mexican government, or by the competent authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico. But the grantees of land in Texas, put in possession thereof, who, by reason of the circumstances of the country since the beginning of the troubles between Texas and the Mexican government, may have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall be under the obligation to fulfill the said conditions within the periods limited in the same respectively, such periods to be now counted from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; in default of which, said grants shall not be obligatory on the State of Texas, in virtue of the stipulations contained in this article.

The foregoing stipulation in regard to grantees of land in Texas, is extended to all grantees of land in the territories aforesaid, elsewhere than in Texas, put in possession under such grants; and in default of the fulfillment of the conditions of any such grant within the new period, which, as is above stipulated, begins with the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, the same shall be null and void.

The Mexican government declares that no grant whatever of lands, in Texas, has been made since the second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and that no grant whatever of lands in any of the territories aforesaid, has been made since the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

Article XI.—Considering that a great part of the territories which, by the pre sent treaty are to be comprehended for the future, within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes who will hereafter be under the control of the government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed, that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the government of the United States, whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted—all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were committed within its own terrritory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics; nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians; nor to provide such Indians with firearms or ammunition, by sale or otherwise.

And in the event of any person or persons captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them, and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the government of the United States notice of such captures, and its agent shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities, at the place where they may be. But, if the government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said government, when providing for the removal of Indians from any portion of said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

Article XII.—In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars, in the one or the other of the two modes below specified.

The Mexican government shall, at the time of ratifying this treaty, declare which of these two modes of payment it prefers; and the mode so elected by it, shall be conformed to by that of the United States.

First mode of payment.—Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. For the remaining twelve millions of dollars, the United States shall create a stock, bearing an interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, commencing on the day of the ratification of this treaty by the government of the Mexican republic, and payable annually at the city of Washington; the principal of said stock to be redeemable there, at the pleasure of the government of the United States at any time after two years from the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; six months' public notice of the intention to redeem the same being previously given. Certificates of such stock in proper form, for such sums as shall be specified by the Mexican government, shall be delivered, and transferrable by the said government to the same by that of the United States.

Second mode of payment.—Immediately after this treaty shall have been duly ratified by the government of the Mexican republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual instalments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same, at the rate of six per cent. per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by the Mexican government, and the first of the instalments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual instalment, as it falls due, the whole interest accrueing on such instalment from the beginning shall also be paid.

[Certificates, in the proper form, for the said instalments, respectively, in such sums as shall be desired by the Mexican government, and transferrable by it, shall be delivered to the said government by that of the United States.]

(N. B.—The first of these modes is rejected. The latter is adopted, with the exception of the last paragraph, within the brackets.)

Article XIII.—The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican republic, under the conventions between the two republics, severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-three; so that the Mexican republic shall be absolutely exempt for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

Article XIV.—The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

Article XV.—The United States exonerating Mexico from all demand on account of the claims of the citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever canceled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not to exceed three and one quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a board of commissioners shall be established by the government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive; provided, that in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners, or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the government of the Mexican republic, shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioner, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States; and the Mexican government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents, so specified, which shall be in their possession or power (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners: Provided, that no such application shall be made by, or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

Article XVI.—Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify for its security.

Article XVII.—The treaty of amity commerce, and navigation, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the 5th day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of

America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may not be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood, that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII.—All supplies whatever, for the troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at the ports in the occupation of such troops, previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the government of the United States hereby pledging its faith to establish, and vigilantly to enforce all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quality, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end, it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports, any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation which they may know of, or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by the sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX.—With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico, whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either Republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

1. All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

2. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom houses and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff, at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following article.

3. All merchandise, effects, and property, described in the two rules foregoing, shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, or upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax or impost, of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subjected to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

4. All merchandise, effects and property described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior, whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of import or contribution, under whatever title or denomination.

5. But, if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases, if they had been imported in the time of peace, through the maritime custom houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

6. The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to reship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

With respect to the metals, or other property exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or state, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution

upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX.—Through considerations for the interests of commerce generally, it is agreed, that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case, all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom houses, and previously to the expiration of the sixty days after the day of the signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon, than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom houses, at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects, and property, the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI.—If, unhappily, any disagreement should hereafter arise between the governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves; using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the government of that which deems itself aggrieved, shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII.—If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid!) war shall unhappily break out between the two republics, they now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world, to observe the following rules, absolutely, where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible.

1. The merchants of either republic then residing within the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months (for those dwelling in the interior), and six months (for those dwelling at the seaports) to collect their debts and settle their affairs; during which periods, they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations: and at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects, without molestation or hindrance; conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general, all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but, if the necessity arise to take any thing from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same, protected in the discharge of their duties, and the pursuit of their vocations.

2. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common

soldiers shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are, for its own troops. But, if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment after they shall have been designated to him, such individual, officer, or other prisoner, shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article, as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if an officer so breaking his parole, or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms, previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed, either in kind or by computation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service; the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with, or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them be withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute, whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared, that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

Article XXIII.—This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican Republic, with the previous approbation of its General Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington, in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement; and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST, [L. S.]
LUIS G. CUEVAS, [L. S.]
BERNARDO CONTO, [L. S.]
MIG. ATRISTAIN, [L. S.]

Additional, and secret article of the treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, signed this day by their respective plenipotentiaries. (Expunged.)

In view of the possibility that the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty may, by the circumstances in which the Mexican Republic is placed, be delayed longer than the term of four months fixed by its twenty-third article for the exchange of ratifications of the same, it is hereby agreed that such delay shall not, in any manner, affect the force and validity of this treaty, unless it should exceed the term of eight months, counted from the date of the signature thereof.

This article to have the same force and virtue as if inserted in the treaty, to which this is an addition.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this additional and secret article, and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST, [L. S.]
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MIG. ATRISTAIN, [L. S.]

Immediately after the treaty had been negotiated, and a copy thereof dispatched to the United States for ratification, Senor Rosa issued a circular to the governors of the different states announcing the fact; but the provisions of the treaty itself were withheld, from prudential motives of Peña y Peña, who was not willing to give to the Puros and Monarquistas the opportunity of condemning it, before it could be acted upon by the government of the United States.

The governors of the states returned evasive answers to the circular of the minister; most of them neither condemning nor approving, but many of them demanding to have the terms of the treaty made known. But the governors of Zacatecas and Guadalajara positively refused to comply with the terms of any armistice, stating that they would raise troops to defend themselves. Jalisco, too, was endeavoring to raise a force, and the authorities there had some pieces of artillery in the process of manufacture.

General Santa Anna, as has been before related, on the last day of March presented himself to Colonel Hughes, the American commander at Jalapa, who, advancing to meet him with a squadron of cavalry, treated him with much consideration. He left his hacienda of Encerro, near Jalapa, on the 2d of April, and proceeded to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, and there embarked, with his family, on board a Spanish brig, which on the 5th sailed with the illustrious exile to the island of Jamaica, where he found a quiet and secure asylum.

At the same time the opponent of Santa Anna, Paredes, equally obnoxious to the existing government, having left his retreat at Tulancingo with such precipitation on the approach of Gen. Lane, proceeded, not to the coast, but to San Luis Potosi, in hopes of being able to raise there a revolution against the power of Peña y Peña, and in favor of his monarchical principles. His appearance in the state of San Luis created a great commotion. The governor, Adame, and the lieut. governor, Avila, favored his schemes, and a revolution was to be set on foot; but was quelled by the approach of a force under Gen. Bustamente, ordered by the president to march forthwith, to prevent their designs. Paredes then retired to Aguas Calientes.

Padre Jarauta, at this time, having been also proscribed by the government, which was anxious for the cessation of al' guerrilla operations, betook himself, with a few followers, to the less dangerous occupation of robbing the Mexicans themselves, near Queretaro.

Col. Zenobia alone, with a force of guerrillas, near Vera Cruz, continued to attack the Americans; and even he seemed to wish no more assistance—sending back, to the American commander at Vera Cruz, a lieutenant and six men, who had deserted to him from that post.

Gen. Alvarez continued his attempts to get up a pronunciamento in the south, but without any success, the populace being weary of the war. Gen. Almonte retired to his hacienda in the north of Mexico. Most of the officers unfavorable to the government took up their abode at Guanajuato; and those disposed for peace, at Queretaro, around the president, where also were a part of the congress assembled.

In the mean time, one more battle was fought, in the north of Mexico, at Santa Cruz de Rosales, near Chihuahua, between the forces of the American general, Price (who was ignorant of the treaty), and Gen. Angel Trias, governor of that state, who was aware of the existence of the treaty, and also of the armistice. The Americans in New Mexico, under General Price, had, previous to this time, occupied a succession of posts from the capital, Santa Fe, along down the Rio Grande, to El Paso. The latter, the most southern, three hundred miles from Chihuahua, was commanded by Lt. Col. Ralls. About the first of February, that officer, having captured a Mexican lieutenant, from some papers found upon his person was led to believe that he would be attacked from Chihuahua by Generals Urrea and Angel Trias, with an overwhelming force. This induced him at once to send for reinforcements to Santa Fe. General Price immediately marched to his relief, and assumed the command at El Paso, with sixteen hundred men, and ten pieces of artillery. Finding that Urrea was not at Chihuahua, and that Gen. Trias had possession of that city, Price made a rapid march with four hundred dragoons and mounted men, and two pieces of artillery, towards Chihuahua, with the remainder of his army to follow immediately. Hearing of his approach, Gen. Trias, on the morning of the 7th of March, evacuated the city with his troops, numbering one thousand men, and eight pieces of artillery, and took the road towards Durango. The Americans entered Chihuahua on the night of the 7th, and, leaving their two pieces of artillery, on the 8th continued in pursuit of Trias, and, by marching at night, overtook him at Santa Cruz de Rosales—a town of two thousand inhabitants, sixty miles distant. On the morning of the 9th, the Americans filed to the northwest of the town, and halted. Gen. Trias, astonished at his being overtaken, fired a few cannon shot upon the Americans, who withdrawing from the range, took positions immediately to storm the town. Trias received, by a flag of truce, a demand for unconditional surrender. He refused this, but requested of the American general an interview within the town, which being granted, he informed Price of the negotiated treaty, and of the terms of the armistice, and demanded that he should be allowed to proceed on his retreat unmolested. General Price, discrediting

this, but believing, however, that such might be the case, demanded of General Angel Trias, that he should march his whole force, or two companies of it, with his artillery and munitions of war, back to Chihuahua, and take quarters in one portion of the city, while the American troops quartered in another—not to molest each other until the American commander should receive directions from his government. Trias, considering that in such a case himself and command would be but prisoners in Chihuahua, refused, and Price withdrew from the conference, determined upon the attack; but having seen the strong arrangements for defense, he suspended his operations until the arrival of his artillery, and stationed his troops so as to cut off the communications from the town. In the afternoon, Gen. Trias sent two flags of truce to the Americans: the first, asking whether he was besieged. On receiving answer that all communications were stopped, he sent the second, stating that he considered himself besieged, and that hostilities would be commenced; but repeated his assurances of the existing armistice to the American general.

On the 11th, General Price received the two pieces of artillery from Chihuahua; and on the morning of the 16th, his battery of seven pieces, which by rapid marching had come at his call two hundred and twenty-five miles in three and a half days. This reinforcement increased the number of the Americans to seven hundred men. The battle then commenced at half past 9, A. M., by a rapid and destructive cannonade from the American artillery, returned with spirit by Trias. This continued for two hours and a half; was recommenced at half past 3, P. M., by the artillery, and the whole American force, in separate columns, assaulted the different parts of the town. For near six hours the conflict raged furiously, until at 9 P.M., the Americans, having penetrated through the walls of the buildings and gained entrance to the plaza, Gen. Trias, after a loss of three hundred men killed and wounded, surrendered. American loss very small.

The prisoners and trophies were marched back to Chihuahua by the American general, who took up his quarters within that city, and held it until he received orders from the government to evacuate it, which was not done until the 20th of July, when he commenced his return to Santa Fe.

While the senate of the United States were deliberating upon the treaty, President Peña y Peña and his cabinet were making every exertion to secure its ratification by the Mexican congress, should it be approved by the former power. For this purpose, he declared his intention, if it was necessary to procure a quorum, to exclude from representation New Mexico, California, and Yucatan—the

two former being in the full possession of the Americans, and the latter not having acted in conjunction with her sister states of Mexico during the war, and even now being overrun with an extensive insurrection of her native Indians, or peones, who, in number about forty thousand, under their chiefs Jacinto Pat and Cecilio Chi, ravaged the whole country, sparing neither age nor sex of the unfortunate whites, devastating the whole interior with fire and sword. The fugitive families were flying to the coast, and availing themselves of every opportunity to escape with their lives. The governor, Don Miguel Barbachano, in the extremity of his distress, sent to the Spanish authorities at Havanna, to the English at Jamaica, to those of the United States at Washington, and to the commander of the American squadron on the Mexican coast, for assistance; offering the full possession and dominion of their country to any of those powers who would save them. They were assisted by Commodore Perry with ammunition, by the authorities at Havanna with the like, by the English at Honduras with two hundred men, and from Jamaica with arms; and after this time, by American volunteers discharged from the army. The details of this vast insurrection, and long continued indiscriminate massacre, would not repay the perusal; suffice it to say, that it commenced in July, 1847, and was at its worst in April, 1848; when the sufferings of the people were beyond description. Since that the whites have succeeded in making a stand against, and in obtaining advantages over their savage foes. In this condition, Yucatan could send no members to the national congress; and Peña y Peña, therefore, was determined, in case of necessity, to reduce the quota of congress by her number of deputies.

Nor in Yucatan alone was this insurrection of the peones. From Tampico to Tuspan, the whole country was unsettled. Two thousand insurgents of the same character had risen in the state of Guanajuato. The northern savage Indians were also making inroads into San Luis, Durango, and Sonora.

The treaty of peace was confirmed, with amendments, by the senate of the United States, after a protracted discussion, on the 10th of March, 1848, and two commissioners, Messrs. Sevier and Clifford, were immediately sent to bear it to Mexico for ratification by the Mexican congress; while Mr. Trist was called home, as a prisoner. Mr. Clifford arrived at the city of Mexico on the 11th of April; Mr. Sevier in a day or two after. Remaining in the capital a few days, on the 22d they were escorted by a squadron of American cavalry towards Queretaro.

No sooner was the action of the U. S. senate known by the

Mexican government, than Peña y Peña made most vigorous exertions to obtain a meeting of congress. Money was obtained from the clergy who for some time had been becoming more favorable towards the treaty; the members of congress were furnished with the necessary funds, and more than a quorum were immediately assembled. The president, in an able message, laid before the body the condition of the nation, and the advantages that would accrue from a peace; while Rosa, as secretary of state, showed that it was impossible for the nation any longer to carry on the war, their armies being destroyed, their resources gone, and the enemy every where victorious.

In the chamber of deputies the treaty met with fierce opposition; but finally, on the 19th of May, it was ratified in that house, as amended in the American senate, by a vote of 51 to 35. On the 25th, with but little opposition, it passed the Mexican senate, by a full vote of 33 to 4; and in half an hour afterwards, the escort of the American commissioners entered the city.

The ratifications were exchanged, and the war was ended. The last force of American troops, which, under Gen. Kearney, had just entered the capital from Vera Cruz, had arrived only immediately to return. No delay was made by Gen. Butler in evacuating the city. Gen. Smith was sent immediately to Vera Cruz to superintend the embarkation of the army, which in four divisions left the capital. The siege train, and all the artillery, commenced the march on the 29th of May; Gen. Patterson's division on the 1st of June, followed by that of Gen. Marshall, and that of Gen. Worth brought up the rear. As they marched out, the Mexican troops, which had been stationed at Guadalupe, entered. The volunteers of Gen. Wool's army in the north, left soon after; part of the regular forces proceeded to California, and part to New Mexico. Chihuahua was evacuated by Gen. Price on the 20th July.

The Mexican congress declared Gen. Herrera the constitutional president, and Peña y Peña was reëlected chief justice of the supreme court. Gen. Paredes and Padre Jarauta immediately commenced a revolution, by issuing a pronunciamento against Herrera, at Aguas Calientes. The first movement of the new government was to send Gen. Bustamente, at the head of the army, against them. The result of this was, that, afterward, Paredes was routed, and Jarauta taken prisoner and shot.

APPENDIX

TO YOUNG'S HISTORY OF MEXICO.

II.

Extract from the Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the 1st session of the 28th Congress.—December 5, 1843.

"I COMMUNICATE herewith certain dispatches received from our minister at Mexico, and also a correspondence which has recently occurred between the envoy from that Republic and the Secretary of State. It must be regarded as not a little extraordinary, that the Government of Mexico, in anticipation of a public discussion, which it has been pleased to infer from newspaper publications as likely to take place in Congress, relating to the annexation of Texas to the United States, should anticipated the result of such discussion as to have announced its determination to visit any such anticipated decision by a formal declaration of war against the United States. If designed to prevent Congress from introducing that question, as a fit subject for its calm deliberation and final judgment, the executive has no reason to doubt that it will entirely fail of its object. The representatives of a brave and patriotic people will suffer no apprehension of future consequences to embarrass them in the course of their proposed deliberations. Nor will the executive department of the government fail, for any such cause, to discharge its whole duty to the country.

"The war which has existed for so long a time between Mexico and Texas, has, since the battle of San Jacinto, consisted for the most part of predatory incursions, which, while they have been attended with much of suffering to individuals, and have kept the borders of the two countries in a state of constant alarm, have failed to approach to any definitive result. Mexico has fitted out no formidable armament by land or by sea for the subjugation of Texas. Eight years have now elapsed since Texas declared her independence of Mexico, and during that time she has been recognized as a sovereign

power by several of the principle civilized States. Mexico, nevertheless, perseveres in her plans of reconquest, and refuses to recognize her independence. The predatory incursions to which I have alluded have been attended, in one instance, with the breaking up of the courts of justice, by the seizing upon the persons of the judges, jury, and officers of the court, and dragging them along with unarmed, and therefore non-combatant citizens, into a cruel and oppressive bondage, thus leaving crime to go unpunished, and immorality to go unreproved. A border warfare is evermore to be deprecated; and over such a war as has existed for so many years between these two States, humanity has had great cause to lament. Nor is such a condition of things to be deplored only because of the individual suffering attendant upon it. The effects are far more extensive, the Creator of the universe has given man the earth for his resting place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, shall make the first or any part of it a scene of desolation, effects injuriously his heritage, and may be regarded as a general calamity. Wars may sometimes be necessary; but all nations have a common interest in bringing them speedily to a close. The United States have an immediate interest in seeing an end put to the state of hostilities existing between Mexico and Texas. They are our neighbors of the same continent, with whom we are not only desirous of cultivating the relations of amity, but of the most extended commercial intercourse, and to practice all the rights of a neighbourhood hospitality. Our own interest are deeply involved in the matter since however neutral may be our course of policy, we cannot hope to escape the effects of a spirit of jealousy on the part of both of the powers. Nor can this government be indifferent to the fact that a warfare, such as is waged between those two nations, is calculated to weaken both powers, and finally to render them, and especially the weaker of the two, the subjects of interference on the part of stronger and more powerful nations, which, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may sooner or later attempt to bring

about a compliance with terms, as the condition of their interposition, alike derogatory to the nation granting them, and detrimental to the interests of the United States. We could not be expected quietly to permit any such interference to our disadvantage. Considering that Texas is separated from the United States by a mere geographical line, that her territory, in the opinion of many, down to a late period, formed a portion of the territory of the United States, that it is homogeneous in its population and pursuits with the adjoining States, makes contributions to the commerce of the world in the same articles with them, and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language, and live under similar political institutions with ourselves, this Government is bound, by every consideration of interest as well as of sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force, and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries. In full view of all these considerations, the executive has not hesitated to express to the Government of Mexico how deeply it deprecated a continuance of the war, and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination. I cannot but think that it becomes the United States, as the oldest of the American Republics, to hold a language to Mexico upon this subject of an unambiguous character. It is time that this war had ceased. There must be a limit to all wars; and if the parent State, after an eight years struggle, has failed to reduce to submission a portion of its subjects standing out in revolt against it, and who have not only proclaimed themselves to be independent, but have been recognized as such by other powers, she ought not to expect that other nations will quietly look on, to their obvious injury, upon a protraction of hostilities. These United States threw off their colonial dependence, and established independent governments; and Great Britain, after having wasted her energies in the attempt to subdue them for a less period than Mexico has attempted to subjugate Texas had the wisdom and justice to acknowledge their indepen-

dence, thereby recognizing the obligation which rested on her as one of the family of nations. An example thus set by one of the proudest as well as most powerful nations of the earth, it could in no way disparage Mexico to imitate. While, therefore, the Executive would deplore any collision with Mexico, or any disturbance of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries, it cannot permit that government to control its policy, whatever it may be, towards Texas; but will treat her as by the recognition of her independence the United States have long since declared they would do, as entirely independent of Mexico. The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico, will have mainly contributed to produce; and the executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action.

"Measures of an unusual character have recently been adopted by the Mexican Government, calculated in no small degree to affect the trade of other nations with Mexico, and to operate injuriously to the United States. All foreigners, by a decree of the 23d day of September, and after six months from the day of its promulgation, are forbidden to carry on the business of selling by retail any goods within the confines of Mexico. Against this decree our minister has not failed to remonstrate.

"The trade heretofore carried on by our citizens with Santa Fe, in which much capital was already invested, and which was becoming of daily increasing importance, has suddenly been arrested by a decree of virtual prohibition on the part of the Mexican Government. Whatever may be the right of Mexico to prohibit any particular course of trade to the citizens or subjects of foreign powers, this late procedure, to say the least of it, wears a harsh and unfriendly aspect.

"The instalments on the claims recently settled by the convention with Mexico have been punctually paid as they have

fallen due, and our minister is engaged in urging the establishment of a new commission, in pursuance of the convention, for the settlement of unadjusted claims."

III.

Documents accompanying the President's Message at the commencement of the First Session of the Twenty-Eighth Congress.

Mr. de Bocanegra to Mr. Thompson.

[TRANSLATION.]

National Palace, Mexico, August 23, 1843.

The undersigned, Secretary of State for Foreign Relations and Government, has received express orders from his Excellency the Provisional President, to address the Hon. Waddy Thompson, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and to give him clear and definitive explanations respecting an affair, the consequences of which are grave and serious for the two nations whose friendship and good understanding should be maintained, for their reciprocal interests, and for the welfare of the whole human race.

Unfortunately, the events which have been occurring for so many years past—as well as the colonization of Texas by citizens of the United States as the insurrection excited, sustained, and carried through, by citizens of those same States —have appeared to afford grounds for doubting the sincerity and frankness of the conduct of that powerful Republic with regard to the Mexican nation, although they were bound together by treaties, such as are esteemed sacred in the intercourse and relations of civilized States. This assertion has found a place in the series of historical truths; and under this

view alone, it is recalled by the Mexican Government with the deepest regret, and because, in approaching the event which is anticipated, it is indispensable to refer to the most lamentable circumstances which have preceded it. The recognition of the independence of Texas by the Government of the United States, which served as an example, and even as a stimulus to similar recognitions by some governments of Europe was on the point of altering the existing good understanding and harmony; and it must be considered as a great sacrifice to the public peace, and to the friendship professed towards the United States, that the Government of the Mexican Republic should have contented itself with making a proper protest against the act, in order thus to preserve the rights of the nation, its dignity, and its honor. From the moment when his Excellency the Provisional President took the reins of the Government, he has conducted himself according to the laudable maxims, that Government should be as firm in the purpose to be just in their foreign relations, as in demanding justice whenever aggressions are committed against them, such as may place in jeopardy those rights which they are bound to preserve at all cost. The Hon. Waddy Thompson is the best witness to show that his Excellency the President has condemned the dark policy of national antipathies, and has done all in his power to render the conduct of Mexico towards the United States consistent, honorable, and cordial, in order that no well-grounded motive of complaint might ever exist, and that no breach might be made in the existing stipulations; and it is likewise notorious that it has been sometimes necessary to subject the nation to great sacrifices, in order to keep its engagements inviolable. It likewise appears that the Government of the United States, in reciprocity for this uniform system, is bound, for the glory of its own name, to remove all cause of injury to the welfare of the two nations which may present themselves.

The Mexican Government has collected sufficient evidence, published in abundance by the American press, that a

proposition is to be submitted to the deliberations of the Congress of the United States, at its ensuing session, to incorporate with them the so-called Republic of Texas; and although his Excellency the President hopes that an authority so circumspect will defeat a design so unjust, and an attack so decisive on the rights of the Mexican nation over that territory, he has ordered the undersigned to declare to the Hon. Waddy Thompson, with the view that he may submit it to his Government, that the Mexican Government will consider equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic the passage of an act for the incorporation of Texas with the territory of the United States; the certainty of the fact being sufficient for the immediate proclamation of war, leaving to the civilized world to determine with regard to the justice of the cause of the Mexican nation, in a struggle which it has been so far from provoking.

The colonists of Texas, generously received by the Mexican nation, entered into that country, and rose in insurrection, under various pretexts, but with the declared intention to wrest that territory from its lawful possessor; and as to Mexico, they never lost their character of subjects, while those (all citizens of the United States) who afterwards went to support their rebellion are regarded only as adventurers. And if a party in Texas is now endeavoring to effect its incorporation with the United States, it is from the consciousness of their notorious incapability to form and constitute an independent nation, without their having changed their situation, nor acquired any rights to separate themselves from their mother country. His Excellency the Provisional President, resting on this deep conviction, is obliged to prevent an aggression, unprecedented in the annals of the world, from being consummated; and if it be indispensable for the Mexican nation to seek security for its rights at the expense of the disasters of war, it will call upon God, and rely on its own efforts for the defence of its just cause. The Government of the undersigned, nevertheless, flatters itself with the hope that the

Government of the United States will ward off from its country and from ours the deplorable consequences of a rupture, by preserving the amicable relations which his Excellency the President so ardently desires to maintain, and will thus save the glorious Republic, which the immortal Washington founded, from stain and dishonor.

The undersigned hopes that his excellency the minister of the United States will communicate this solemn protest to his government, and will accept the assurance of high consideration on the part of his most obedient servant.

J. M. DE BOCANEGRA.

Hon. WADDY THOMPSON, *Envoy, &c.*

IV.

MR. THOMPSON TO MR. DE BOCANEGRA.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mexico, August 24, 1843.

THE undersigned has received and read with astonishment the note of his excellency José Maria de Bocanegra, Minister of Foreign Relations and Government, of yesterday's date. At the very moment when a rumor of an invasion of the territory of Mexico by citizens of the United States, having no other authority than the public newspapers, is proven to be without foundation, and upon which rumor his excellency had addressed a very strong note to the undersigned, another is received of a similar character, based upon no better authority. The direct threat of war, which his excellency makes, precludes the undersigned from offering any explanation whatever upon the subject. With a proud man or a proud nation, the language of menace is not only unavailing, but has an inevitable tendency to defeat its object. The Government of the

undersigned has no passion for war, foreign or domestic. It seeks a different path of glory. Still less does that government desire war with Mexico. But if anything could excite such a feeling, it will be the constant repetition of these threats, alike incompatible, in the judgment of the undersigned, with the respect due to his own government and to that of Mexico; and the undersigned requests that they may not be repeated. If intended for intimidation, they will have no effect; and if as a warning, they are not necessary: for his country is always in a condition to meet any emergency.

The undersigned begs leave to add, that "the glorious Republic founded by the immortal Washington" has its character in its own keeping, and needs no admonitions from any quarter to prevent it from stain or dishonor.

The undersigned renews to his excellency Jose Maria de Bocanegra, Minister of Foreign Relations, &c., the assurance of his distinguished consideration.

WADDY THOMPSON.

His Excellency Jose Maria de Bocanegra,
Minister of Foreign Relations and Government of the Mexican Republic

V.

Mr. de Bocanegra to Mr. Thompson.

[translation.]

National Palace, Mexico, September, 1843.

The undersigned, Minister of Foreign Relations and Government, when addressing the Hon. Waddy Thompson on the 21st of July and the 8th of August last, with respect to the new invasion of the Territory of Mexico, made known the evidence which had been obtained, estimating it according

to its real value, as it determined the Supreme Government to take a step so conformable with its dignity and propriety, after having examined those circumstances thoroughly. The Hon. Mr. Thompson will be able to convince himself that the government, in making that communication, founded it not upon vague rumors, but upon advices, authentic, public, and official, afforded by the Mexican authorities, who cannot be supposed to wish to alarm their Government by uncertain and groundless information. The Government relied on the faith which should be placed in those authorities, and considered that they, when addressing their government on a subject so serious in all its relations and aspects, did so in the discharge of the functions, civil and military, which they exercise in their respective departments.

Governments depend upon the testimony afforded by their agents; and if they are deprived of this means for the support of their measures, what other can they have, in order to become acquainted with the circumstances which required their attention?

In the offices of the Department of State are documents which induced the belief in a new invasion, and the order of General Houston for its cessation destroys all doubt on the subject.

With regard to the incorporation of Texas in the United States, the principal object of this note, and on which the Hon. Mr. Thompson treats in his reply of the 24th of August last, the information is still more positive, as to an affair which neither is nor can be indifferent to the Supreme Government of Mexico, because it has calculated and foreseen the exaggerated pretensions of those who in the United States support the pretensions of the adventurers of Texas. The communications, public and private, from that country, its newspapers, and the rumors there current, and the invitation signed at Washington on the 5th of March of this year, are circumstances which cannot be treated as vague rumors. The fact that the General Congress of the United States has already

been occupied with the subject of the annexation of Texas is not only not destitute of foundation, but most positive proofs of it have been obtained; and it is not, therefore one of those anecdotes which editors are in the habit of introducing into their newspapers, in order to render them more pleasing; it is a thing certain—most certain, unless the publications of the enlightened John Quincy Adams, and the opposition made and now in preparation against this project, at the head of which that personage stands, be fables.

To insist on what is positively known, that the States of the South are promoting and agitating the aggression upon Texas, would be an offence to the enlightenment and judgment of Mr. Thompson.

The probabilities are, that the Congress at Washington will again take up this affair at its next session, and that the reason, justice, and circumspection of a body, which, from its nature proceeds with the utmost caution, (*madurez, deliberation*) in affairs of less importance, will frustrate pretensions based solely on private interests. The undersigned hopes, with good reason, from the principles of justice which ought to preside over the deliberations of the Congress of the United States, that it will never listen to suggestions, nor to private interests, detrimental to the law of nations and international law; but as it may happen that ambition and delusion may prevail over public propriety, that personal views may triumph over sane and just ideas, and that the vigorous reasoning of Mr. John Quincy Adams and his co-laborers may be ineffectual, how can it be considered strange and out of the way that Mexico, under such a supposition, should announce that she will regard the annexation of Texas as an act of declaration of war? Mexico, therefore, does not threaten, and still less does she provoke and excite; what she says is that which cannot be denied to her: that she will regard the annexation of Texas to the United States as a hostile act, inasmuch as this act involves a violation of the law of nations, and particularly of international law, by its infraction of the first article

of the treaty of April 5, 1831, published in Mexico in 1832, which says: "There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship, between the United Mexican States and the United States of America, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their people and citizens, respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

Mexico has always taken care to fulfil her stipulations, because she knows what she owes to other nations; but she wishes, also, that what is due to herself should be observed and maintained; and if on these principles she has protested, and does protest, she does in this no more than fulfil an obligation which is peculiar to her sovereignity and independence, without proposing, ever so distantly, to intimidate or to warn, but to show what is proper for her to do.

The undersigned herewith repeats to the Hon. Waddy Thompson the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

J. M. DE BOCANEGRA.

Hon. WADDY THOMPSON,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

VI.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. UPSHUR TO MR. THOMPSON, DATED OCTOBER 20, 1843.

YOUR letter to Mr. de Bocanegra, in reply to that which he addressed to you on the 23d of August, is certainly in no respect too spirited or positive. The language of Mr. Bocanegra's letter, particularly in its concluding sentence is highly offensive, and you would have been fully justified in requir-

ing him to withdraw it. The warning which you have given him against the use of similar expressions in future will it is hoped, have its effect. If, however, you should again be addressed in terms so assuming and so disparaging to the United States, you will demand that the letter be withdrawn, or that suitable apology for it be made. You will at the same time inform the Mexican Government that you can hold no intercourse with it, except on such terms of courtsey and respect as are due to the honor and dignity of the United States.

In regard to the threat, that Mexico will consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as eq ivalent to a declaration of war, you were certainly right to offer no explanation whatever. Should the subject, however, be again brought to your attention in a proper manner, you will say that you are not in possession of the views of your Government in relation to it. You may intimate, however, if the occasion should justify it, that, as the independence of Texas has been acknowledged not only by the United States, but also by all the other principal powers of the world, most of whom have established diplomatic relations with her, she is to be regarded as an independent and sovereign power, competent to treat for herself; and as she has shaken off the authority of Mexico, and successfully resisted her power for eight years, the United States will not feel themselves under any obligation to respect her former relation with that country; that we should greatly regret any interruption of our friendly relations with Mexico, and do not design to do any thing of which she can justly complain; that if war should ensue, Mexico herself will be the aggressor, and will be alone responsible for all the evils which may attend it; and that in the mean time the United States will pursue the policy which their honor and their interest require, taking counsel only of their own sense of what is due to themselves and to other nations.

VII.

General Almonte to Mr. Upshur.

[translation.]

Mexican Legation.

Washington, November 3, 1843.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, has the honor, by express order from his Government, to address the honorable A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State of the United States, for the purpose of making known to him, so that he may be pleased to communicate it to his Excellency the President, that the Mexican Government has well-grounded reasons to believe that, in the approaching session of the General Congress of the United States, the question as to the annexation of a part of its territory to that of the United States will be discussed; and that such a measure, if carried into effect, cannot be considered by Mexico in any other aspect than as a direct aggression.

From what has been said, the Secretary of State will have seen that reference is here made to the department of Texas, an integrant part of the Mexican Republic; and the undersigned would consider himself as questioning the understanding of the Secretary of State, if he should proceed to demonstrate the rights of his Government to the above mentioned department. For the same reason, he will confine himself simply to reminding the Secretary of State of the existence of a treaty by which the United States of America acknowledged the sovereignty of Mexico over the said territory; and although subsequently Texas, in consequence of a revolution, excited, as every one knows, by citizens who emigrated from this country, proclaimed its independence, and this independence was unexpectedly acknowledged by the United States of

America, the Government of the undersigned immediately protested against such recognition, and declared that it would not, in any way, affect the rights of Mexico.

Thus the undersigned, in consideration of the reasons above exposed, and relying on the good judgment and enlightened patriotism of the next General Congress of the Union, not less than on the integrity of the worthy Magistrate who now presides over the destinies of this Republic, trusts that, for the sake of justice and of the friendly relations of two adjoining nations, which have so long existed in peace, the design above indicated will not be carried into effect, but will rather be regarded with indignation by the legislative body. But if, contrary to the hopes and wishes entertained by the Government of the undersigned, for the preservation of the good understanding and harmony which should reign between the two neighboring and friendly Republics, the United States should, in defiance of good faith and of the principles of justice which they have constantly proclaimed, commit the unheard of act of violence (*inaudito atentado*—the expression is much stronger than the translation) of appropriating to themselves an integrant part of the Mexican territory, the undersigned, in the name of his nation, and now for them, protests, in the most solemn manner against such an aggression; and he moreover declares, by express order of his Government, that on sanction being given by the Executive of the Union to the incorporation of Texas into the United States, he will consider his mission ended, seeing that, as the Secretary of State will have learned, the Mexican Government is resolved to declare war so soon as it receives intimation of such an act.

The undersigned flatters himself, nevertheless, with the idea, that the circumstances which have occasioned this note will disappear completely, and that the Government of the honorable Secretary of State of the United States of America will employ, at the proper times, all the means in its power to frustrate the said plan, thus saving its own good name, and displaying prominently the principles which ought to charac-

terize a Government, free, enlightened, and just, in its political transactions.

The undersigned repeats to the Secretary, &c.

J. N. ALMONTE.

Hon A. P. Upshur,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

VIII.

Mr. Upshur to General Almonte.

Department of State.

Washington, November 8, 1843.

The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which General Almonte, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, did him the honor to address to him on the 3d instant.

General Almonte informs the undersigned that he has it in express order from his Government to make known to the undersigned, so that it may be communicated to the President, that the Mexican Government has well-grounded reasons to believe that, in the approaching session of the General Congress of the United States, the question as to the annexation of a part of its territory to the United States will be discussed; and that such a measure if carried into effect, cannot be considered by Mexico in any other aspect than as a direct aggression. General Almonte further informs the undersigned, by express order of his Government, that, on sanction being given by the Executive of the Union to the incorporation of Texas into the United States, he will consider his mission ended, seeing that the Mexican Government is resolved to declare war so soon as it receives information of such an act. General Almonte is pleased to conclude his communication with the expression

of a hope that this Government will employ, at the proper time, all the means in its power to frustrate the said plan, thus saving its own good name, and displaying prominently the principles which ought to characterize a Government, free, enlightened, and just, in its political transactions.

As General Almonte has made no inquiry of the undersigned as to the facts on which his letter is founded, it is presumed that the Mexican Government is entirely satisfied with the information it has already received, particularly as that information has been deemed sufficient to justify the imputation of designs on the part of a branch of this Government, which are characterized as highly unworthy, and which General Almonte has thought to denounce in terms quite as strong as diplomatic courtesy will allow. The undersigned, therefore does not feel that he is called on either to admit or or to deny the design imputed to the Congress of the United States, by the Government of Mexico, even if he can be presumed to know any thing upon the subject.

As to the threat of war made in advance, in the name and by the express order of the Mexican Government, the undersigned reminds General Almonte that it is neither the first nor the second time that Mexico has given the same warning to the United States, under similar circumstances. The undersigned had hoped that the manner in which these threats have heretofore been received and treated had clearly shown to the Mexican Government the light in which they are regarded by that of the United States. The undersigned has now only to add that as his Government has not, in time past, done any thing inconsistent with the *just* claims of Mexico, the President sees no reason to suppose that Congress will suffer its policy to be effected by the threats of that Government. The President has full reliance on the wisdom and justice of Congress, and cannot anticipate that any occasion will arise to forbid his hearty co-operation in whatever policy that body may choose to pursue, either towards Mexico or any other power.

In conclusion, the undersigned reminds General Almonte

that this Government is under no necessity to learn, from that of Mexico, what is due to its own honor or to the rights of other nations. It is therefore quite unnecessary that General Almonte, in his future communications to this department, should admonish this Government either to respect its duties or to take care of its reputation, in any contingency which the Mexican Government may choose to anticipate.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to offer General Almonte renewed assurances of his high consideration.

A. P. UPSHUR.

Brigadier General Don J. N. Almonte, *&c.*,

IX.

General Almonte to Mr. Upshur.

[TRANSLATION.]

Washington, November 11, 1843.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, had the honor to receive the answer which the Hon. Mr. A. P. Upsher, Secretary of State of the United States, was pleased to make to his note of the 3d instant, relating to a protest which the undersigned addressed to that gentleman against the annexation of Texas to the United States of America.

From the tenor of that answer, the undersigned has seen with regret that the Hon. Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, has fallen into two grave errors, (*equivocaciones*—misunderstandings,) occasioned, possibly, by some error committed in the translation which has been made of his note.

The first of these misunderstandings consists in supposing that the government of the undersigned imputes to one of the supreme powers of the American Union unworthy

views or designs with regard to the territory of Texas. The Mexican government has cast no such imputation—quite the contrary; it has manifested its reliance on the circumspection and good judgment of the American Congress. Indeed, how could it have anticipated (foreseen) the conduct of the legislative body, when that body has not yet been assembled? What the undersigned and his government have said is, *that the Mexican government has well-grounded reasons to believe that, in the approaching session of the General Congress of the United States, the question as to the annexation of a part of its territory* (*Texas*) *to the United States will be discussed*, (*se tratara.*) Here it is clearly seen that neither the undersigned nor his government have said that Congress will take up (tratara) the subject of the annexation of Texas, but that the subject of the annexation of Texas will be discussed in its sessions, (en sus sesiones se tratara;) that is to say, that this question will, in some manner, be agitated in its body; that it will afford material for discussion, (discusion,) for which, as the Secretary of State well knows, it will be sufficient that a petition be presented, or that some member should make a proposition to the effect in Congress, for a discussion to take place, even though it were for no other object than to admit or reject such a proposition. This is what the undersigned and his government have said; and, in order that the Secretary of State may see that what has been said by both is not without foundation, it will be sufficient for the undersigned, without need of reference to other circumstances in proof, to cite the exposition on the subject of the annexation of Texas, made on the 3d of March last by thirteen members, among whom is found the respectable name of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of this republic.

Since that time, articles have been constantly appearing in the newspapers of the south, and especially in the official journal of the government, in favor of the annexation of Texas; respecting which, the latter paper has gone so far as

to say, that *it* (the annexation) *is of such importance that the individual or individuals who may contribute the most to effect an object so advantageous for the Union, and so anxiously desired by the Texans, will receive the applause of the country, now and hereafter.* It is very possible that these expressions may have been written without the knowledge of the Secretary of State, and the undersigned desires to believe it so; but, in truth, presumptions indicate the contrary.

The Secretary of State, moreover, seems to consider it strange that the government of the undersigned should not have hitherto made any inquiry of him as to the facts upon which his protest is founded; thus giving it to be understood that he is ignorant of any project being entertained (entre manos—in hand) for the annexation of Texas to the United States, or that it is in contemplation (se trate) to submit such a question to the deliberations of the ensuing Congress. The undersigned would highly value a formal declaration to that effect on the part of the Secretary of State, in order to be able to transmit it without delay to his government, as it would show, in a most unequivocal manner, that if any one in the United States be engaged in machinations (maquire) against the integrity of the Mexican territory, the Executive of the Union is entirely ignorant of it. The undersigned can assure the Secretary of State that such a declaration would be highly important and satisfactory for his government, and that it would contribute effectively to preserve unalterable the relations of friendship which actually exist between the two countries. In fine, the protest which the undersigned has made has been conditional; that is to say, it applies to the case in which the government of the United States should, contrary to the expectations of the Mexican government, unfortunately carry into execution the act against which the protest is directed.

The second misunderstanding consists in the supposition that the undersigned has meant to point out to the Secretary of State or his government in what manner they (it) should

fulfil their (its) duties, and take care of their (its) reputation. The undersigned has taken upon himself no such office. What he has set forth in his note is the hope which animates him, "that the circumstances which have occasioned it (the note) would disappear, and that the government of the honorable Secretary of State would employ at the proper times all the means in its power to frustrate the project of the annexation—thus saving its own good name, and displaying prominently the principles which ought to characterize a government free, enlightened, and just in its political transactions." Nothing more is here manifested than a desire, a hope, (or expectation.) Whence could the honorable Secretary of State, then, have drawn the inference that the undersigned meant to admonish his government as to the course which it should pursue? (el manejo que debe observar.) Does not the Secretary of State see that the undersigned has done no more than second the desires of the American people, who wish their country to be conducted in the path of honor, justice, and reason?

The undersigned, therefore, does not know to what to attribute the not very decorous language (*lenguage poco decoroso*) which the honorable Secretary of State has employed in saying that the observation (advertencias—warnings) of the undersigned were unnecessary in the communications which he may in future address to the Department of State, and in declaring that the Government of the United States is under no necessity to learn from that of Mexico what is due to its own honor or to the rights of other nations.

The undersigned has also observed, with regret, that the honorable Secretary of State, in the conclusion of his abovementioned note, declares that his Government has not, in time past, done any thing inconsistent with the just rights of Mexico. The undersigned is grieved to be obliged to think far otherwise; and, although he might on this occasion demonstrate the injuries which his country has received from the United States, he will dispense with doing so, because

his intention is not to revive old circumstances of difference, nor to irritate feelings, but to reconcile and tranquillize them as much as possible.

In conclusion, the undersigned considers it his duty (secrée enel caso) to repeat to the Secretary of State, in order that he may be pleased to communicate it to his Excellency the President, that neither he nor his Government have intended, and that it should not have been supposed that they would have intended, to cast imputation (agraviar) upon the legislative body, and much less to admonish the Executive as to its duties. His desires have tended solely to the maintenance of the peace and harmony which ought to subsist between two neighboring and friendly nations; and though the undersigned has declared, by express order of his Government, that war will be the inevitable consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States, he certainly has not done so with the object of intimidating the Government of the honorable Secretary of State, but with the view of showing how far Mexico would carry her resistance to an annexation of that nature. And, in truth, the honorable Secretary of State should not regard this as any other than a very natural feeling; as it is most clear, that if Mexico or any other Power should attempt to appropriate to herself a portion of the territory of the United States, the latter would not consent to it without first appealing to arms, whatsoever might be the result to which the fortune of war might subject them.

The undersigned has the honor to renew to the Secretary of State the assurances of his very high and distinguished consideration.

J. N. ALMONTE.

Hon. A. P. Upshur.

Secretary of State.

X.

Mr. Upshur to General Almonte.

Department of State.

Washington, December 1, 1843.

The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter, of the 11th of November, addressed to him by General Almonte, minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary of the Mexican Republic, in reply to the letter of the undersigned of the 8th day of the same month. The minister of Mexico informs the undersigned that he has seen with regret that the undersigned has fallen into two grave mistakes, in regard to the meaning of the Mexican minister's letter of the 3d of November, which mistakes, he presumes, are the consequence of some error committed in the translation of that letter, made in this department. A suggestion of this sort, coming from the minister of a nation whose language is different from that of the United States, could not fail to put the undersigned upon careful inquiry as to the correctness of it. The undersigned regrets that this has afforded him no reason to suppose that the language of the Mexican minister's letter admits of any more correct translation into English than that which it has received. If the true meaning of that letter has not been given, it may be owing to the difficulty which already exists in giving in one language all the minute shades of meaning which may be found in the idiomatic expressions of another. Be that as it may, the undersigned does not hesitate to take the Mexican minister's interpretation of his own language, as given in his letter to which this is a reply; but he is, at the same time, compelled to declare that he does not see, even in this interpretation, in what respect he has misunderstood the Mexican minister.

The first mistake into which the Mexican minister asserts

that the undersigned has fallen, is in supposing that the Government of Mexico "imputes to one of the supreme powers of the American Union unworthy views or designs with regard to the territory of Texas;" and the Mexican minister now expressly declares that "the Mexican Government has cast no such imputation—quite the contrary; it has manifested its reliance on the circumspection and good judgment of the American Congress." If this be so, the undersigned is quite at a loss to know why the Mexican minister should have considered it necessary to denounce war, as the consequence of the anticipated action of the American Congress. If, as he now declares, (and as of course he must be understood,) he meant only to say that the subject of the annexation of Texas to this Union would be proposed and in some manner agitated or discussed in the American Congress, and if, as he also declares, he meant to express the "reliance of his Government on the circumspection and good judgment of Congress" to defeat any "unworthy views or designs with regard to the territory of Texas," it would seem that his interposition could not have been necessary, even in his own view of the case. He either did or did not anticipate a movement on the part of Congress more serious than a simple discussion of the measure in question. If he did, then the undersigned has not misunderstood him; if he did not, then the denunciation of war was wholly gratuitous and unnecessary, because it was made on a contingency which he himself did not mean to say was even probable.

Whether the Mexican minister did or did not, in his letter of the 3d of November mean to impute to this Government, or some part of it, the design to annex Texas to the Union, the undersigned cannot understand him as meaning any thing else in his explanatory letter of the 11th. He avows his suspicion of such a design in his attempt to show that he was justified in entertaining that suspicion; and he does this in the very passage of his letter in which he endeavors to prove that the undersigned erred in attributing such a suspicion to

him. Why else does he refer to the exposition made by Mr. Adams and other members of Congress on the 3d of March last, to the articles in public newspapers, and particularly to those which appeared in that which he styles the journal of the Government? He declares that these proofs are altogether sufficient for him, and that he has no need to refer to other circumstances which, in his opinion, authorize the same conclusion.

This conclusion is fortified, in the opinion of the Mexican minister, by the presumption, which he thinks the circumstances of the case justify, that the articles of which he complains as obnoxious, and which appeared in the "journal of the government," were published with the knowledge of the undersigned. The Mexican minister may not be aware that in the Uuited States there is *no* journal of the government. If he had known this, he would not probably have thought it necessary to allude to the presumed agency or connivance of the American Secretary of State in those publications.

The undersigned adverts to this part of the Mexican minister's letter only to show that he has not misunderstood the Mexican minister in this particular. He does not complain that the government of Mexico suspects that this government entertains a design to annex Texas to the Union; but he thinks that it was due to this government that inquiry should be made through the proper channels, and in a friendly and respectful spirit, whether this government really entertained such designs or not. Without such previous inquiry, the denunciation of war, as the consequence of an attempt to carry them into execution, could not but be regarded as an unnecessary threat. These designs were characterized by the Mexican minister in terms of obloquy as strong as the language of his country afforded. In the opinion of his government at least, they were highly discreditable to the United States; and yet, professing to be satisfied with the proofs already before him, and without

asking for any explanation, the Mexican minister, upon a mere suspicion, threatened war, in the name of his country, as the only adequate mode of resenting so great an outrage upon her rights. This is an unusual course of proceeding, and one to which the just self-respect of this government can by no means submit. Whether the suspicions of Mexico were well founded or not, it was due to this government that she should not take it for granted that the United States meditated an encroachment upon her rights, real or supposed, great enough to justify so extreme a measure of retaliation as a declaration of war.

The undersigned regrets that he is equally unable to perceive, from the Mexican minister's explanations, that he has been misunderstood in the second particular specified by him. In his letter of the 3d November, he expresses the hope, which animates him, "that the circumstances which have occasioned it (the letter) would disappear, and that the government of the honorable Secretary of State would employ, at the proper times, all the means in its power to frustrate the project of the annexation—thus saving its own good name, and displaying prominently the principles which ought to characterize a government free, enlightened, and just, in its political transactions." Quoting these words, he now informs the undersigned that "nothing more is here manifested than a desire, a hope, (or expectation;") and he further says that, in expressing this hope, he has done no more than "second the desires of the American people, who wish their country to be conducted in the path of honor, justice, and reason." Does not the Mexican minister know that the mere expression of a hope may be very offensive? Does he not perceive, that when Mexico expresses the hope that the United States will act in such a manner as to save their good name, in a given case, a doubt is implied whether they will do so or not? And when he tells the undersigned that the course which he points out is necessary to "save tne good name" of the United States, how can he be other-

wise understood than as pointing out to the Secretary of State, or his government, in what manner they should fulfil their duties and take care of their reputation? It is not perceived that he improves his position, when he tells the undersigned that in all this he (the Mexican minister) does nothing more than "second the desires of the American people, who wish their country to be conducted in the path of honor, justice, and reason." Surely he must have known that the American people are themselves the conductors of their country, and that their government is but the expression of their will.

In replying thus far to the Mexican minister's note of the 11th ultimo, the undersigned has had no other object than to vindicate his construction of the Mexican minister's letter of the 3d, and at the same time to intimate his expectation that he will not be addressed in language susceptible of a construction discourteous towards his country or government. So far as the Mexican minister has disclaimed the construction which the undersigned felt himself compelled to place upon the last-mentioned note, the undersigned receives the disclaimer. He does not desire to subject the language of the Mexican minister to captious criticism; and he would fain indulge the hope that in the future correspondence between himself and the Mexican Minister there may be no room for misconstruction or complaint on either side.

The Mexican minister informs the undersigned that he would be pleased to receive from him a formal disavowal of any purpose, on the part of the American government, to annex Texas to the Union. The Mexican minister must be aware that it is not in the power of the undersigned to give any such disavowal, so far as the Congress of the United States is concerned; and he cannot fail to perceive that considering the attitude which Mexico has chosen to assume, such a disavowal on the part of the President cannot be reasonably expected, whatever his views and intentions may be. It is due, however, to the frankness, which it is the

desire of the United States to display in all their dealings with other countries, that the undersigned should make to the Mexican minister the following explicit declaration:

Near eight years have elapsed since Texas declared her independence. During all that time Mexico has asserted her right of jurisdiction and dominion over that country, and has endeavored to enforce it by arms. Texas has successfully resisted all such attempts, and has thus afforded ample proof of her ability to maintain her independence. This proof has been so satisfactory to many of the most considerable nations of the world, that they have formally acknowledged the independence of Texas, and established diplomatic relations with her. Among these nations the United States are included; and indeed they set the example which other nations have followed. Under these circumstances, the United States regard Texas as in all respects an independent nation, fully competent to manage its own affairs, and possessing all the rights of other independent nations. The government of the United States, therefore, will not consider it necessary to consult any other nation in its transactions with the government of Texas. The Mexican minister expresses his regret at the declaration of the undersigned, that "his government has not in time past done any thing inconsistent with the just rights of Mexico;" and he declares at the same time that he thinks far otherwise, and that he could, if his intentions were not rather to soothe than to irritate, demonstrate the injuries which his country has received from the United States. The undersigned assures the Mexican minister, that, while he is wholly unconscious of any reason which Mexico has for complaint against his government, he will receive with pleasure any representation which the Mexican minister may think that he has cause to make; and, far from considering it matter for irritation or excitement, he will be prepared to examine it impartially, and to discuss it respectfully and calmly. And he further assures the Mexican minister that it is and ever has been the earnest desire of this

government to do full justice to Mexico in every respect whatever; of which it will give proof, as it has already given proof, whenever the Mexican minister may choose to make known the grievances of which his government complains.

The undersigned avails himself of this occasion to offer the Mexican minister renewed assurances of his very distinguished consideration.

A. P. UPSHUR.

Brigadier General Don J. N. ALMONTE, &c.

XI.

MR. PACKENHAM TO MR. UPSHUR.

Washington, February 26, 1844.

SIR: In compliance with your request to that effect, I have the honor herewith to transmit to you a copy of the dispatch from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which I had the honor to read to you on Saturday last.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration, your obedient servant, R. PACKENHAM.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR, &c.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *December* 26, 1843.

SIR: As much agitation appears to have prevailed of late in the United States relative to the designs which Great Britain is supposed to entertain with regard to the Republic of Texas, Her Majesty's Government deem it expedient to take measures for stopping at once the misrepresentations which have

been circulated, and the errors into which the Government of the United States seems to have fallen on the subject of the policy of Great Britain with respect to Texas. That policy is clear and simple, and may be stated in a few words.

Great Britain has recognized the independence of Texas, and, having done so, she is desirous of seeing that independence finally and formally established, and generally recognized especially by Mexico. But this desire does not arise from any motive of ambition or of self-interest, beyond that interest at least, which attaches to the general extension of our commercial dealings with other countries.

We are convinced that the recognition of Texas by Mexico must conduce to the benefit of both these countries, and, as we take an interest in the well being of both, and in their steady advance in power and wealth, we have put ourselves forward in pressing the Government of Mexico to acknowledge Texas as independent. But in thus acting we have no occult design, either with reference to any peculiar influence which we might seek to establish in Mexico or in Texas, or even with reference to the slavery which now exists, and which we desire to see abolished in Texas.

With regard to the latter point, it must be and is well known, both to the United States and to the whole world, that Great Britain desires, and is constantly exerting herself to procure, the general abolition of slavery throughout the world. But the means which she has adopted, and will continue to adopt, for this humane and virtuous purpose, are open and undisguised. She will do nothing secretly or underhand. She desires that her motives may be generally understood, and her acts seen by all.

With regard to Texas, we avow that we wish to see slavery abolished there, as elsewhere ; and we should rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to abolish slavery eventually, and under proper conditions, throughout the Republic. But although we earnestly de-

sire and feel it to be our duty to promote such a consummation, we shall not interfere unduly, or with an improper assumption of authority with either party, in order to insure the adoption of such a course. We shall counsel, but we shall not seek to compel, or unduly control, either party. So far as Great Britain is concerned, provided other States act with equal forbearance, those Governments will be fully at liberty to make their own unfettered arrangements with each other, both in regard to the abolition of slavery and to all other points.

Great Britain, moreover does not desire to establish in Texas, whether partially dependent on Mexico, or entirely independent, (which latter alternative we consider in every respect preferable,) any dominant influence. She only desires to share her influence equally with all other nations. Her objects are purely commercial: and she has no thought or intention of seeking to act directly or indirectly, in a political sense, on the United States through Texas.

The British Government, as the United States well know, have never sought in any way to stir up disaffection or excitement of any kind in the slave-holding States of the American Union. Much as we should wish to see those States placed on the firm and solid footing which we conscientiously believe is to be obtained by general freedom alone, we have never in our treatment of them made any difference between the slave-holding and the free States of the Union. All are, in our eyes, entitled, as component members of the Union, to equal political respect, favor, and forbearance, on our part. To that wise and just policy we shall continue to adhere; and the Governments of the slave-holding States may be assured that, although we shall not desist from those open and honest efforts which we have constantly made for procuring the abolition of slavery throughout the world, we shall neither openly nor secretly resort to any measures which can tend to disturb their internal tranquillity, or thereby to affect the prosperity of the American Union.

You will communicate this dispatch to the United States

Secretary of State, and, if he should desire it, you will leave a copy of it with him.

I am, &c.

ABERDEEN.

Right Hon. RICHARD PACKENHAM, &c.

XII.

In Senate of the United States, April 22, 1844.

Read the first and second times, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Senate of the United States:

I TRANSMIT herewith for your approval and ratification, a treaty, which I have caused to be negotiated between the United States and Texas, whereby the latter, on the conditions therein set forth, has transferred and conveyed all its right of a separate and independent sovereignty and jurisdiction to the United States. In taking so important a step, I have been influenced by what appeared to me to be the most controlling considerations of public policy and the general good; and in having accomplished it, should it meet with your approval, the government will have succeeded in reclaiming a territory which formerly constituted a portion as it is confidently believed, of its domain, under the treaty of cession of 1803, by France, to the United States.

The country thus proposed to be annexed has been settled principally by persons from the United States, who emigrated on the invitation of both Spain and Mexico, and who carried with them into the wilderness which they have partially reclaimed the laws, customs, and political and domestic institutions of their native land. They are deeply indoctrinated in all the principles of civil liberty, and will

bring along with them, in the act of re-association, devotion to our Union, and a firm and inflexible resolution to assist in maintaining the public liberty unimpaired—a consideration which, as it appears to me, is to be regarded as of no small moment. The country itself, thus obtained, is of incalculable value in an agricultural and commercial point of view. To a soil of inexhaustable fertility, it unites a genial and healthy climate, and is destined, at a day not distant, to make large contributions to the commerce of the world. Its territory is separated from the United States, in part, by an imaginary line, and by the river Sabine for a distance of three hundred and ten miles; and its productions are the same with those of many of the contiguous states of the Union. Such is the country, such are its inhabitants, and such its capacities to add to the general wealth of the Union. As to the latter, it may be safely asserted, that in the magnitude of its productions it will equal, in a short time, under the protecting care of this government, if it does not surpass, the combined production of many of the States of the Confederacy. A new and powerful impulse will thus be given to the navigating interests of the country, which will be chiefly engrossed by our fellow-citizens of the Eastern and Middle States, who have already attained a remarkable degree of prosperity by the partial monopoly they have enjoyed of the carrying trade of the Union, particularly the coastwise trade, which this new acquisition is destined in time, and that not distant, to swell to a magnitude which cannot easily be computed; while the addition made to the boundaries of the home market, thus secured to their mining, manufacturing, and mechanical skill and industry, will be of a character the most commanding and important. Such are some of the many advantages which will accrue to the Eastern and Middle States by the ratification of the treaty—advantages, the extent of which it is impossible to estimate with accuracy or properly to appreciate. Texas being adapted to the culture of cotton, sugar, and rice, and devoting most of her energies

to the raising of these productions, will open an extensive market to the Western States, in the important articles of beef, pork, horses, mules, &c., as well as in breadstuffs. At the same time, the Southern and South-western States will find, in the fact of annexation, protection and security to their peace and tranquillity, as well against all domestic as foreign efforts to disturb them; thus consecrating anew the union of the States, and holding out the promise of its perpetual duration. Thus, at the same time that the tide of public prosperity is greatly swollen, an appeal, of what appears to the Executive to be an imposing, if not a resistless character, is made to the interests of every portion of the country. Agriculture, which would have a new and extensive market opened for its produce; commerce, whose ships would be freighted with the rich productions of an extensive and fertile region; and the mechanical arts, in all their various ramifications, would seem to unite in one universal demand for the ratification of the treaty. But important as these considerations may appear, they are to be regarded as but secondary to others. Texas, for reasons deemed sufficient by herself, threw off her dependence on Mexico as far back as 1836, and consummated her independence by the battle of San Jacinto, in the same year; since which period, Mexico has attempted no serious invasion of her territory; but the contest has assumed features of a mere border war, characterized by acts revolting to humanity. In the year 1836, Texas adopted her Constitution, under which she has existed as a sovereign Power ever since, having been recognized as such by many of the principal powers of the world; and contemporaneously with its adoption, by a solemn vote of her people, embracing all her population but ninety-three persons, declared her anxious desire to be admitted into association with the United States, as a portion of their territory. This vote, thus solemnly taken, has never been reversed; and now, by the action of her constituted authorities, sustained as it is by popular sentiment, she re-affirms her

desire for annexation. This course has been adopted by her, without the employment of any sinister measures on the part of this government. No intrigue has been set on foot to accomplish it. Texas herself wills it, and the Executive of the United States, concurring with her, has seen no sufficient reason to avoid the consummation of an act esteemed to be so desirable by both.

It cannot be denied, that Texas is greatly depressed in her energies by her long-protracted war with Mexico. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that she should seek for safety and repose under the protection of some stronger Power; and it is equally so that her people should turn to the United States, the land of their birth, in the first instance, in pursuit of such protection. She has often before made known her wishes; but her advances have, to this time, been repelled. The Executive of the United States sees no longer any cause for pursuing such a course. The hazard of now defeating her wishes may be of the most fatal tendency. It might lead, and most probably would, to such an entire alienation of sentiment and feeling, as would inevitably induce her to look elsewhere for aid, and force her either to enter into dangerous alliances with other nations, who, looking with more wisdom to their own interests, would, it is fairly to be presumed, readily adopt such expedients; or she would hold out the proffer of discriminating duties in trade and commerce, in order to secure the necessary assistance. Whatever step she might adopt, looking to this object, would prove disastrous, in the highest degree, to the interests of the whole Union. To say nothing of the impolicy of our permitting the carrying trade and home market of such a country to pass out of our hands into those of a commercial rival, the Government, in the first place, would be certain to suffer most disastrously in its revenue by the introduction of a system of smuggling, upon an extensive scale, which an army of custom-house officers could not prevent, and which would operate to affect injuriously the interests of all the industrial

classes of this country. Hence would arise constant collisions between the inhabitants of the two countries, which would evermore endanger their peace. A large increase of the military force of the United States would inevitably follow—thus devolving on the people new and extraordinary burdens, in order not only to protect them from the danger of daily collision with Texas herself, but to guard their border inhabitants against hostile inroads, so easily excited, on the part of the numerous and warlike tribes of Indians dwelling in their neighborhood. Texas would undoubtedly be unable, for many years to come, if at any time, to resist, unaided and alone, the military power of the United States; but is not extravagant to suppose that nations reaping a rich harvest from her trade, secured to them by advantageous treaties, would be induced to take part with her in any conflict with us, from the strongest considerations of public policy. Such a state of things might subject to devastation the territory of contiguous States, and would cost the country, in a single campaign, more treasure, thrice told over, than is stipulated to be paid and reimbursed by the treaty now proposed for ratification. I will not permit myself to dwell on this view of the subject. Consequences of a fatal character to the peace of the Union, and even to the preservation of the Union itself, might be dwelt upon. They will not, however, fail to occur to the mind of the Senate and of the country. Nor do I indulge in any vague conjectures of the future. The documents now transmitted along with the treaty lead to the conclusion, as inevitable, that if the boon now tendered be rejected, Texas will seek for the friendship of others. In contemplating such a contingency, it cannot be overlooked that the United States are already almost surrounded by the possessions of European Powers. * * * * * * *

To Mexico, the Executive is disposed to pursue a course conciliatory in its character, and at the same time to render her the most ample justice, by conventions and stipulations not inconsistent with the rights and dignity of the Govern-

ment. It is actuated by no spirit of unjust aggrandizement, but looks only to its own security. It has made known to Mexico, at several periods, its extreme anxiety to witness the termination of hostilities between that country and Texas. Its wishes, however, have been entirely disregarded. It has ever been ready to urge an adjustment of the dispute upon terms mutually advantageous to both. It will be ready at all times to hear and discuss any claims Mexico may think she has on the justice of the United States, and to adjust any that may be deemed to be so on the most liberal terms. There is no desire on the part of the Executive to wound her pride, or affect injuriously her interest; but, at the same time, it cannot compromit by any delay in its action the essential interests of the United States. Mexico has no right to ask or expect this of us—we deal rightfully with Texas as an independent Power. The war which has been waged for eight years has resulted only in the conviction, with all others than herself, that Texas cannot be reconquered. I cannot but repeat the opinion, expressed in my message at the opening of Congress, that it is time it had ceased.

The Executive, while it could not look upon its longer continuance without the greatest uneasiness, has nevertheless, for all past time, preserved a course of strict neutrality. It could not be ignorant of the fact of the exhaustion which a war of so long a duration had produced. Least of all was it ignorant of the anxiety of other powers to induce Mexico to enter into terms of reconciliation with Texas, which, affecting the domestic institutions of Texas, would operate most injuriously upon the United States, and might most seriously threaten the existence of this happy Union. Nor could it be unacquainted with the fact, that although foreign governments might disavow all design to disturb the relations which exist under the Constitution between these States, yet that one, the most powerful amongst them, had not failed to declare its marked and decided hostility to the chief feature in those relations, and its purpose, on all suitable occasions,

to urge upon Mexico the adoption of such a course in negotiating with Texas as to produce the obliteration of that feature from her domestic policy, as one of the conditions of her recognition, by Mexico, as an independent State. The Executive was always aware of the fact, that formidable associations of persons, the subjects of foreign powers, existed, who were directing their utmost efforts to the accomplishment of this object. To these conclusions it was inevitably brought by the documents now submitted to the Senate. I repeat, the Executive saw Texas in a state of almost hopeless exhaustion, and the question was narrowed down to the simple proposition, whether the United States should accept the boon of annexation upon fair and even liberal terms, or, by refusing to do so, force Texas to seek refuge in the arms of some other power, either through a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, or the adoption of some other expedient, which might virtually make her tributary to such power, and dependent upon it for all future time. The Executive has full reason to believe that such would have been the result, without its interposition, and that such will be the result, in the event either of unnecessary delay in the ratification, or of the rejection of the proposed treaty.

In full view, then, of the highest public duty, and as a measure of security against evils incalculably great, the Executive has entered into the negotiation, the fruits of which are now submitted to the Senate. Independent of the urgent reasons which existed for the step it has taken, it might safely invoke the fact, which it confidently believes, that there exists no civilized government on earth, having a voluntary tender made it of a domain so rich and fertile, so replete with all that can add to national greatness and wealth, and so necessary to its peace and safety, that would reject the offer. Nor are other powers, Mexico inclusive, likely, in any degree, to be injuriously affected by the ratification of the treaty. The prosperity of Texas will be equally interesting to all, in the increase of the general com-

merce of the world: that prosperity will be secured by annexation.

But one view of the subject remains to be presented. It grows out of the proposed enlargement of our territory. From this, I am free to confess, I see no danger. The federative system is susceptible of the greatest extension compatible with the ability of the representation of the most distant State or Territory to reach the seat of government in time to participate in the functions of legislation, and to make known the wants of the constituent body. * *

Under every view which I have been able to take of the subject, I think that the interests of our common constituents, the people of all the States, and a love of the Union, left the Executive no other alternative than to negotiate the treaty. The high and solemn duty of ratifying or of rejecting it is wisely devolved on the Senate by the Constitution of the United States.

JOHN TYLER.

Washington, April 22, 1844.

XIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GENERAL PAREDES, AT THE OPENING OF THE EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL CONGRESS OF MEXICO, JUNE 1, 1846.

"I ANNOUNCE to the Congress, with a feeling of profound grief, that in the course of my administration the public order and tranquillity have been disturbed in the south of the department of Mexico, and in a part of the departments of Puebla and Oaxaca, in the departments of Sinaloa and Sonora, and recently in that of Jalisco. In the south of Mexico, and where that department adjoins those of Oaxaca, Puebla, Mechoacan, and Jalisco, there exists old and rancorous elements of disorder, which are developed and augmented in all the

convulsions which agitate the republic. The benefits of civilization have not there begun to be felt, and it would be a most provident and philanthropic measure to hasten to introduce them, in order that such elements of perdition, as are there united, may not increase and be propagated. It will be an everlasting stigma upon the actions in that district, that they have seized upon the vessels destined to compose the expedition to the Californias, and the abundant supplies which the preceding administration had provided. This frightful and parricidal crime was consummated in Mazatlan, by the military force destined to protect that peninsula, which the troops of the United States had begun to invade. How can these men ever justify their refusal to acknowledge the government, at a moment when they were in the receipt of their orders and supplies for the purpose of proceeding where they were summoned by the holy duty of defending the integrity of the national territory? The United States have reckoned, as a part of their resources, the disturbances which they have, perhaps, fomented, and have rejoiced in the idea that a government resolute and firm against their aggressions, would not be able to sustain itself against a simultaneous attack of all factions. Those who promote new dissensions which directly injure the country, do not reflect that they fight against its existence, and leave it at the mercy of the enemy, who, of old has fomented disunion among the Mexicans, thwarted their government, and wholly disconcerted society in its principles, its maxims, and its administration. The government has checked the progress of the revolution in the south, has directed the march of numerous and faithful troops to the capital of the department of Jalisco, and will not leave unpunished the mutiny, purely military, in Sinaloa. The occurrences in Sonora are entirely of a local nature, and the government hopes that the honest inhabitants of that department will declare in favor of the advantages of an impartial and just government, which will secure them the rights that they have so much interest in preserving. When there is

such an urgent necessity for moving our regular troops to the frontier, and to threatened points, the most judicious arrangements are frustrated, because factions in this or that quarter disturb the public repose, and it is necessary to re-establish it, in order that a government may exist, for the purpose of attending to the defence of the country against an enemy who has already proclaimed himself the conquerer of the Mexicans. It is no less painful than necessary, that the country should know its dangers, in order that it may redeem itself, by being simply willing to do so, by availing itself of its immense resources. The history of the youthful existence of the nation contains many glorious pages, and we will not disgrace them by forgetting that destiny calls upon us to make great sacrifices in order to vindicate great interests.

"I have approached, insensibly, the mention of the gravest event in our passing history. On taking possession of the reins of government, the present administration found itself met by the engagement, contracted by the previous administration, to receive a minister plenipotentiary from the United States, to treat of the Texas question. The government being firmly resolved to maintain, at all hazards, the most just of causes, and not to suffer the nation to be despoiled of that portion of its territory, was making its preparations for war; but, at that same time, desirous of sparing the blood of Mexicans, if that could be done without derogating from the good name of the republic, and by dignified and decorous negotiations, determined to hear what the said minister had to communicate. As was to be expected, however, from the deceitful policy of the United States, the minister had no sooner presented himself than the bad faith with which they were acting, was evident in their having nominated Mr. John Slidell, not as a minister *ad hoc* to treat of a special business, but as a minister resident—as if the relations between the two countries had undergone no change. The government, in various notes, made known to him in the most decisive terms its irrevocable determination not to receive him, except

in a character purely special, for which reason he asked for, and immediately had sent to him, passports to leave the national territory. This has served as a pretext to the said States for accusing the republic of being the first to manifest hostility, and of provoking them to a contest, as if the hostilities could have no other origin than the refusal to enter into negotiations in which deceit had palpably been displayed, and when recourse had been had to arms, not to defend Texas alone, but other frontier departments invaded by the troops of that government.

"The American minister not having been received, because it did not comport with the dignity of the nation, at a time when an army of the United States was on its march to the Rio Bravo of the North, when our ports on both seas were threatened by its squadrons, and when some of their troops were treading the soil of the Californias, I found myself compelled, on the 21st of March, to declare solemnly that peace not being compatible with the maintenance of the rights and independence of the nation, its territory should be defended until the national Congress should, while we were engaged in the conflict, determine to declare war against the United States. Their army, the head-quarters of which had for some time been established at Corpus Christi, advanced to the frontier station of St. Isabel, and afterwards took a position on the left bank of the Rio Bravo, opposite to Matamoras. After having assembled more than five thousand men on the frontier, I directed the general-in-chief of our division to attack the enemy, and he resolved to cross the river, taking a position between St. Isabel and the fortified point of Paso Real. On the 8th, a sanguinary action took place between the belligerent forces, in which our troops gave proof of their valor, and, although with some loss, maintained their ground, and the honor of our army was saved. On the following day the general-in-chief fell back, in order to take another position, where the combat was renewed, and was entirely unfortunate for the republic. The division re-

crossed the river, and the general-in-chief, who, according to his statements, still preserved four thousand troops of the line, without counting auxiliaries, suddenly evacuated the city of Matamoras, against the positive orders of the government, which had taken into consideration the importance of maintaining that post for ulterior operations, and as a depot for the reinforcements which had been ordered. Conduct so unexpected on the part of the general-in-chief has compelled me to displace him, and to order him to repair to this capital to answer for his conduct before a court of general officers, as provided for by the regulations of the army. The government, while deeply moved by these reverses in a sacred cause, is incessantly at work to repair them, and relies for that purpose on the power of the nation and the assistance of Congress, which, by a special design of Providence, has this day been solemnly assembled.

"The squadron of the United States has commenced blockading the ports of Tampico, Tamaulipas, and Vera Cruz, and there is great probability that the thunder of the enemy's cannon will be directed against those beautiful cities. The period has arrived, therefore, when all the sons of the country should be summoned to its defence; and when the national Congress should declare war against the nation which so much deceives itself, if it supposes that a reverse can extinguish the valor, or overcome the constancy and heroism of which our fellow-countrymen have given such signal proofs. As a citizen, and as a soldier, I am prepared to make every sacrifice; and the brave men of the army, supported by this magnanimous people, will defend with me the holy rights of the country.

"The country ardently and justly desires that republican institutions may ever be maintained; and this desire, which the government eagerly supports, has been made known through all the accredited organs of public opinion. Should you give to the people institutions which may guarantee the principles of the representative, popular, and republican sys-

tem, and combine them with the stability which the nation seeks after so many vicissitudes, you will have satisfied all its wants, and will acquire an everlasting title to the gratitude of Mexicans. Hasten to give them such a rallying point that, making every sacrifice, not of interest only, but of opinions, all desires may be concentrated, and all exertions used in a defence of the country against its perfidious invaders. I assure you again of my most implicit obedience to your determinations.

"In the army striking reforms have been made; its strength has been augmented, and will be increased as far as the public necessities require. As my first engagement at St. Luis Potosi, was to prepare for the defence of the nation, all my efforts have been directed to that object, so far as the limited and scanty resources of our treasury would permit.

"The power of every government is faithfully represented by the condition of its treasury, and it must be said with regret that the condition of ours has become most lamentable, through a series of misfortunes and disorders ill repressed from want of power in the public administration.

"At a time when the public funds were comparatively exhausted, all revenues anticipated, and the government reduced to the ruinous and shameful system of contracts which answered only the exigencies of the day, without providing enough for the most urgent purposes, it became a matter of the first necessity to reinforce the army, and provide without delay for its existence, which was threatened in its operation against a foreign enemy.

"Under these afflicting circumstances the government, although deeply sensible of the importance of a faithful compliance with the engagements contracted by the nation with its creditors, and of the fact that credit is of the first necessity to every government, and faith in its promises, the surest source of its power, found itself compelled to resort to the extreme measure of temporarily suspending payments, a

measure justified by the necessity of providing for the safety of the nation, whose ruin would be the ruin of its creditors.

"The decree of the 2d of May, provisionally suspending payments; that of the 7th of the same month, deducting one-fourth from salaries for the term of one year; the circulars asking aid from the governments of the departments, and from the venerable clergy, and other administrative and economical measures which have been adopted, were the only means which the government had, at this distressing period, of supplying necessities which admitted of no delay.

"For the future, the representatives of the nation will no doubt provide the ample resources required by the war in which the republic finds itself engaged, or will furnish the government which is to be installed with the power of providing them; for, the measure of our power against the enemies of the country will be the resources which the treasury had at its disposal. The object of the enemy in blockading our ports, is to weaken our finances, in order to diminish our strength; if we organize the immense resources which the country possesses this hostile object will be frustrated."

XV.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Matamoras, May 30, 1846.

[EXTRACT.]

I ENCLOSE an original draft, found in General Arista's papers of an invitation to our soldiers to desert. A similar call was previously made by Ampudia, and has already

found its way into the public prints. The department may see from these documents what arms were used against us.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Z. TAYLOR,
Bt. Brig'r General U. S. A., Com'g.

The Adjutant General of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

GENERAL ARISTA'S ADVICE TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

HEAD-QUARTERS AT MATAMORAS, *April* 20, 1846.

SOLDIERS: You have enlisted in time of peace to serve in that army for a specific term; but your obligation never implied that you were bound to violate the laws of God, and the most sacred rights of friends. The United States' government, contrary to the wishes of a majority of all honest and honorable Americans, has ordered you to take forcible possession of the territory of a faithful neighbor, who has never given her consent to such occupation. In other words, while the treaty of peace and commerce between Mexico and the United States is in full force, the United States, presuming on her strength and prosperity, and on our supposed imbecility and cowardice, attempts to make you the blind instruments of her unholy and mad ambition, and forces you to appear as the hateful robbers of our dear homes, and the unprovoked violators of our dearest feelings as men and patriots. Such villainy and outrage, I know, is perfectly repugnant to the noble sentiments of any gentleman, and it is base and foul to rush you on to certain death, in order to aggrandise a few lawless individuals, in defiance of the laws of God and man! It is to no purpose, if they tell you that the law for the annexation of Texas justifies your occupation of the Rio Bravo del Norte; for by this act, they rob us of a great part of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico; and it is barbarous to send a handful of men on such an errand, against a powerful and war-

like nation. Besides, the most of you are Europeans, and we are the declared friends of a majority of the nations of Europe. The North Americans are ambitious, overbearing, and insolent as a nation; and they will only make use of you, as vile tools, to carry out their abominable plans of pillage and rapine.

I warn you in the name of justice, honor, and your own interests and self-respect, to abandon their desperate and unholy cause, and become peaceful Mexican citizens. I guarantee you, in such case, a half section of land, or three hundred and twenty acres to settle upon, gratis. Be wise, then, and just and honorable, and take no part in murdering us who have no unkind feelings for you. Lands shall be given to officers, sergeants, and corporals, according to rank, privates receiving three hundred and twenty acres, as stated.

If in time of action you wish to espouse our cause, throw away your arms and run to us, and we will embrace you as true friends and Christians. It is not decent nor prudent to say more. But should any of you render any important service to Mexico, you shall be accordingly considered and preferred.

M. ARISTA,
Commander-in-Chief of the Mexican Army.

XVI.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, June 4, 1846.

SIR: I send herewith a number of copies of a proclamation in the Spanish language, addressed to the people of Mexico, which you are requested to sign, and cause to be circulated in the manner and to the extent you may deem proper. You will use your utmost endeavors to have the pledges and promises therein contained carried out to the

fullest extent. There are also sent some copies of the proclamation in the English language.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of War.*

Brevet Maj. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,
Commanding Army of Occupation, Texas.

[*Translation of a Proclamation in Spanish, furnished to General Taylor.*]

A PROCLAMATION

BY THE GENERAL COMMANDING THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To the people of Mexico:

AFTER many years of patient endurance, the United States are at length constrained to acknowledge that a war now exists between our government and the government of Mexico. For many years our citizens have been subjected to repeated insults and injuries, our vessels and cargoes have been seized and confiscated, our merchants have been plundered, maimed, imprisoned, without cause and without reparation. At length your government acknowledged the justice of our claims, and agreed by treaty to make satisfaction by payment of several millions of dollars; but this treaty has been violated by your rulers, and the stipulated payments have been withheld. Our late effort to terminate all difficulties by peaceful negotiation has been rejected by the dictator Paredes, and our minister of peace, whom your rulers had agreed to receive, has been refused a hearing. He has been treated with indignity and insult, and Paredes has announced that war exists between us. This war, thus first proclaimed by him, has been acknowledged as an existing fact by our President and Congress with perfect unanimity, and will be prosecuted with vigor and energy against your army and rulers; but those of the Mexican people who remain neutral will not be molested.

Your government is in the hands of tyrants and usurpers. They have abolished your State Governments, they have overthrown your federal constitution, they have deprived

you of the right of suffrage, destroyed the liberty of the press, despoiled you of your arms, and reduced you to a state of absolute dependence upon the power of a military dictator. Your army and rulers extort from the people by grievous taxation, by forced loans and military seizures, the very money which sustains the usurpers in power. Being disarmed, you were left defenceless, an easy prey to the savage Camanches, who not only destroy your lives and property, but drive into a captivity more horrible than death itself, your wives and children. It is your military rulers who have reduced you to this deplorable condition. It is these tyrants, and their corrupt and cruel satellites, gorged with the people's treasure, by whom you are thus oppressed and impoverished, some of whom have boldly advocated a monarchical government, and would place a European prince upon the throne of Mexico. We come to obtain reparation for repeated wrongs and injuries; we come to obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future; we come to overthrow the tyrants who have destroyed your liberties; but we come to make no war upon the people of Mexico, nor upon any form of free government they may choose to select for themselves. It is our wish to see you liberated from despots, to drive back the savage Camanches, to prevent the renewal of their assaults, and to compel them to restore to you from captivity your long lost wives and children. Your religion, your altars, and churches, the property of your churches and citizens, the emblems of your faith and its ministers, shall be protected and remain inviolate. Hundreds of our army, and hundreds of thousands of our people, are members of the Catholic church. In every State, and in nearly every city and village of our Union, Catholic churches exist, and the priests perform their holy functions in peace and security under the sacred guarantee of our constitution. We come among the people of Mexico as friends and republican brethren, and all who receive us as such shall be protected, whilst all who are seduced into the army of your dictator shall be treated as

enemies. We shall want from you nothing but food for our army, and for this you shall always be paid in cash the full value. It is the settled policy of your tyrants to deceive you in regard to the policy and character of our government and people. These tyrants fear the example of our free institutions, and constantly endeavor to misrepresent our purposes, and inspire you with hatred for your republican brethren of the American Union. Give us but the opportunity to undeceive you, and you will soon learn that all the representations of Paredes were false, and were only made to induce you to consent to the establishment of a despotic government.

In your struggle for liberty with the Spanish monarchy, thousands of our countrymen risked their lives and shed their blood in your defence. Our own commodore, the gallant Porter, maintained in triumph your flag upon the ocean, and our government was the first to acknowledge your independence. With pride and pleasure we enrolled your name on the list of independent republics, and sincerely desired that you might in peace and prosperity enjoy all the blessings of free government. Success on the part of your tyrants against the army of the Union is impossible; but, if they could succeed, it would only be to enable them to fill your towns with their soldiers, eating out your substance, and harrassing you with still more grievous taxation. Already they have abolished the liberty of the press, as the first step towards the introduction of that monarchy which it is their real purpose to proclaim and establish.

Mexicans, we must treat as enemies, and overthrow the tyrants, who, whilst they have wronged and insulted us, have deprived you of your liberty; but the Mexican people who remain neutral during the contest shall be protected against their military despots by the republican army of the Union.

XVII.

General Salas and his Associates.

In the citadel of Mexico, the fourth day of the month of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, the undersigned generals, chiefs, and officers, having met, and being penetrated with the urgent necessity which exists for relieving the republic, forthwith, from its grievous peril, and considering:—

1. That from the moment when the constitution ceased to exist, which the republic freely and spontaneously gave itself, those which afterwards were framed, have not been adapted to the exigencies and desires of a great majority of the nation.

2. That hence have preceded the incessant changes which have afflicted the country to such an extreme, that when she was torn to pieces, and after her external ills had been studiously aggravated, some spurious Mexicans have deemed themselves warranted in wishing to subject the nation to the most shameful vassalage by attempting to invite a foreign prince to govern the country, with the title of a monarch.

3. That for the purpose of facilitating so horrible a treason to independence, they have been so bold as to disavow the sovereignty of the people, by naming a Congress in which, with special care, were combined the most extraordinary elements, yet those most suited to complete the ignominy of the nation.

4. That all the laws which the present Congress may pass, and all the acts of the government being null, because neither the Congress nor the government is legitimate; consequently, a just motive always exists for the nation to continue to demand the exercise of its incontestible rights, usurped by the present administration.

5. That the administration referred to, being composed

of men devoted, some to monarchy, others to detestable centralism, and all unfriendly to the army, whose dissolution they meditated some time since, because they encountered in it an impediment to the accomplishment of their perverse views.

6. That if these should unfortunately be carried into effect, the benefits of the independence would be illusory, to which we sacrifice our blood and our fortune for the purpose of enjoying the right to govern ourselves, conformably to our desires and interests.

7. That by establishing a constitution in accordance with the will of the great majority of the nation, we shall at length possess a stable code of laws, beneath whose beneficent shade our great elements of power and wealth shall be developed, and our internal tumults forever cease.

We have come to proclaim, and do proclaim the following plan for the true regeneration of the republic:—

1. In place of the present Congress, another shall meet, composed of representatives chosen by the people according to the electoral laws which served for the choice of that of 1824, which shall charge itself with constituting the nation, by adopting the form of government which may appear to be in accordance with the national will; and which shall charge itself also with all that relates to the war with the United States, and the question of Texas, and other frontier departments. The monarchical form of government, which the nation evidently detests, is excluded.

2. All Mexicans faithful to their country, including those who may be absent therefrom, are called upon to render their services in the present national movement, for which purpose we specially invite his excellency General Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, the well deserving of his country, acknowledging him from this moment as general-in-chief of all the forces pledged and determined to fight, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself.

3. Until the sovereign Congress shall meet and decree whatever may be proper for the war, it shall be imperative upon the executive to dictate whatever measures may be urgent and necessary to sustain with honor the national flag, and to fulfil this sacred duty without the loss of a single moment

4. Within four months from the time when the liberating forces shall have taken possession of the capital of the republic, the Congress mentioned in the first article shall meet, for which purpose it shall be the duty of the general-in-chief to dispatch the summons in the terms adverted to, and to take care that the elections are made with the greatest freedom possible.

5. The existence of the army is guaranteed, and it is assured that it shall be cherished and protected as the well deserving military class of a free people ought to be.

6. Whoever shall seek to retard the meeting of the aforesaid Congress, or shall make an attempt against it by endeavoring to infringe the freedom of its members, by dissolving it or suspending its sessions, or shall attempt to oppose the constitation which it may establish, or the laws which it may enact in accordance with the present plan, is hereby declared a traitor to the nation.

MANIFESTO OF GENERAL SALAS, THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE REPUBLICAN LIBERATING ARMY, NOW EXERCISING THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE POWER, TO THE NATION.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—Placed at the head of the movement which was happily effected on the morning of this day, I consider myself under the strict obligation to present to you an account of my conduct; of the motives which determined me to act, and of the object to which the revolution is directed. Ever since the destruction of the federal constitution in 1835, abandoning the path of law, we have recklessly rushed along the tortuous track of arbitrary proceedings. Advancing, as chance directed, without any beacon to guide

us, we have reached the brink of a fearful abyss, into which our unfortunate country is on the point of being precipitated.

System has followed system; constitution has replaced constitution; and one set of persons has succeeded another in power; but neither have the systems been based on solid foundations, nor have the constitutions been invested with the seal of legitimacy, nor have the individuals charged with power escaped the fatal contagion of party spirit. Thus factions have always ruled—but the people never. Men, not principles, have triumphed; we have had a thousand changes, but not one revolution. Hence has resulted a complete neglect of the laws, horrible disorder in the treasury, dilapidation of the public funds, ruinous stock-jobbing, demoralization of the army, utter want of concert in the administration, loss of credit abroad, dismemberment of territory, and the immense risk to which our nationality is exposed. This is no occasion for bringing to view, one by one, all the acts which have brought us to the present state; nor to throw the blame on one party or to defend another.

Such a review would be of no advantage; it would only serve to confirm a truth that we all confess to our own conscience, to wit: that every party has contributed its share to the work of the public ruin; and that both the victors and the vanquished have alike been victims, because the society which we form has always been so; because, in each case, a faction, not a principle, has triumphed.

The last change, however, beyond measure bolder and more imprudent than those which preceded it, was not limited, like these, to the mere change of the person in power, and to the expansion or contraction of social principles. Those who affected it, raising their views to higher objects, aimed at the entire destruction of the organization of society. Utterly regardless of the character, the customs, and even the vices of the nation, they sought, without respect to the length of time which has elapsed since our independence was achieved, to re-establish anew, in Mexico, a form of

government for which we have not among us any of the bases on which it rests in Europe. The faction which entertained this design, unfortunately, found the most complete support in the government of January, under whose protection it displayed its banner; and, without any reserve, began to unfold and sustain monarchical principles; blasting with vile calumnies our public men, bringing our affairs into contempt by means of misrepresentation or ridicule, and drawing from the past, as thus exhibited, the conclusion that the evils of the country arise from the republican system; and that the only remedy for them consists in the measure which they dared to propose—the erection of a throne for a foreigner. As an effective means of attaining this end, it dictated the summons for a Congress, which should represent what is called the aristocracy, and from whose bosom the people were to be rejected with disdain and insult; as born, in the opinion of this faction, only to obey.

In vain the government, on installing the Congress, endeavored to draw back from this erroneous course; in vain was the endeavor made of changing the head of the state to prevent the appearance of a new era in public affairs; in vain did the cabinet, on the first of August, attempt by its initiative measure of the 3d, to oppose a dyke to the torrent of public opinion, which was already overflowing its banks to overwhelm the oligarchical administration. On the morning of the 4th, the citadel passed the sentence of death upon this system, and two days sufficed to overthrow it. I, who now address you, had already seen the immense mass of public evils; and I could find no other remedy than a frank and loyal appeal to the fountain of all power, by calling together the nation, conformably with the law which served in 1823 for the formation of the constituent congress; inviting, moreover, his Excellency General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna to the post of general-in-chief, because his unquestionable influence with the army was the best guarantee for the union of that meritorious class with the people, and because

his decision in favor of republican principles, renders him the firmest supporter of this system against the perfidious plans of the monarchical party.

I now begin the fulfillment of the plan (programme) which has been announced, by publishing the summons for a Congress issued in 1823, without any other variations than those rendered necessary by the difference of times and of names, or any additions except those contained in the three concluding articles, the necessity of which is obvious. Let the nation then come forward to establish its government in entire freedom, and let the parties engage in the struggle at the proper time, and in a legal manner—into that struggle which is the essence of the representative system. Neither an oligarchy, nor the power of a single man, shall then decide upon our future lot. If the result of the election should displease any faction, it will have no right to complain, as it has been invited to the work; and the constitution which shall be formed will be undoubtedly legitimate.

Meanwhile, it is indispensable that all former compacts should end, as they are all either stamped with nullity, or objects of repugnance to a portion of society; but the existing common laws, and those which the provisional government proposes to publish, will supply, in some degree, the void necessarily occasioned by the present state of things. Our alliance with foreign nations will be in no wise altered; because the government, faithful to its treaties, will maintain the worthy representatives of friendly nations, as well as their citizens, in the enjoyment of all the privileges and considerations required by duty and harmony. The religion which we profess has nothing to fear; property will be respected; individual guarantees will be maintained. Frankness, honor, honesty, and entire devotion to republican principles, are the basis of my conduct. I ask of you, fellow-citizens, only confidence in my intentions, and effective aid to sustain the war to which honor and duty oblige us. Our soldiers, defending our national independence on the frontier,

and the people affirming, through their representatives, the principles of civil liberty, and definitively organizing the republic upon them, the movement of the 4th of August, 1846, will be, not a sedition, but a revolution.

JOSE MARIANO DE SALAS.

Mexico, August 6, 1846.

XVIII.

From the Army of the West.

PROCLAMATION

TO THE INHABITANTS OF NEW MEXICO, BY BRIGADIER GENERAL S. W. KEARNEY, COMMANDING THE TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SAME.

As by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States, and as the undersigned, at the head of his troops on the 18th inst., took possession of Santa Fe, the capital of the department of New Mexico, he now announces his intention to hold the department with its original boundaries (on both sides of the Del Norte) as a part of the United States, and under the name of the Territory of New Mexico.

The undersigned has come to New Mexico with a strong military force, and an equally strong one is following close in his rear. He has more troops than necessary to put down any opposition that can possibly be brought against him, and therefore it would be but folly or madness for any dissatisfied or discontented persons to think of resisting him.

The undersigned has instructions from his government to respect the religious institutions of New Mexico, to protect the property of the church, to cause the worship of those belonging to it to be undisturbed, and their religious rights in the amplest manner preserved to them. Also, to protect the person and property of all quiet and peaceable inhabitants

within its boundaries, against their enemies, the Eutaws, Navahoes, and others; and while he assures all that it will be his pleasure as well as his duty to comply with these instructions, he calls upon them to exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, and in maintaining the authority and efficiency of the laws; and to require of those who have left their homes, and taken up arms against the troops of the United States, to return forthwith to them, or else they will be considered as enemies and traitors, subjecting their persons to punishment, and their property to seizure and confiscation for the benefit of the public treasury. It is the wish and intention of the United States to provide for New Mexico a free government with the least possible delay, similar to those in the United States, and the people of New Mexico will then be called upon to exercise the rights of freemen in electing their own representatives to the territorial legislatures; but until this can be done the laws hitherto in existence will be continued until changed or modified by competent authority, and those persons holding office will continue in the same for the present, provided they will consider themselves good citizens and willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States.

The undersigned hereby absolves all persons residing within the boundary of New Mexico from further allegiance to the republic of Mexico, and hereby claims them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be considered as good citizens, and receive protection. Those who are found in arms, or instigating others against the United States, will be considered as traitors, and treated accordingly. Don Manuel Armijo, the late Governor of this department, has fled from it. The undersigned has taken possession of it without firing a gun, or spilling a drop of blood, in which he most truly rejoices, and for the present will be considered as governor of the territory.

Given at Santa Fe, the capital of the Territory of New

Mexico, this 22d day of August, 1846, and in the 71st year of the independence of the United States.

By the Governor,

S. W. KEARNEY, *Brig. Gen.*

XIX.

To the Inhabitants of California.

The Central Government of Mexico having commenced hostilities against the United States of America, by invading its territory, and attacking the troops of the United States stationed at the north side of the Rio Grande, with a force of seven thousand men, under the command of General Arista, which army was totally destroyed and all their artillery, baggage, etc., captured on the 8th and 9th of May last, by a force of two thousand three hundred men, under the command of General Taylor, and the city of Matamoras taken and occupied by the forces of the United States.

The two nations being actually at war by this transaction, I shall hoist the standard of the United States at Monterey immediately, and shall carry it throughout California.

I declare to the inhabitants of California, that although I come in arms, with a powerful force, I do not come among them as an enemy to California, but on the contrary, I come as their best friend, as henceforward California will be a portion of the United States, and its peaceable inhabitants will enjoy the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any other portion of that nation, with all the rights and privileges they now enjoy; together with the privilege of choosing their own magistrates, and other officers, for the administration of justice among themselves, and the same protection will be extended to them as to any other state of the Union; they will also enjoy a permanent government, under which

life, property, and the constitutional rights and lawful security to worship the Creator in a way most congenial to each ones sense of duty, will be secure; which, unfortunately, the Central Government of Mexico cannot afford them, destroyed as her resources are, by internal factions and corrupt officers, who create constant revolutions to promote their own interests, and oppress the people. Under the flag of the United States, California will be free from all such troubles and expenses, consequently the country will rapidly advance and inprove, both in agriculture and commerce, as of course the revenue laws will be the same in California as in all other parts of the United States—affording them all manufactures and produce of the United States, free from any duty, and all foreign goods at one quarter of the duty they now pay. A great increase in the value of real estate, and the products of California, may reasonably be expected.

With the great interest and kind feelings I know the government and people of the United States possess towards the citizens of California, the country cannot but improve more rapidly than any other on the continent of America.

Such of the inhabitants of California, whether natives or foreigners, as may not be disposed to accept the high privilege of citizenship, and to live peaceably under the free government of the United States, will be allowed time to dispose of their property and to remove out of the country, if they choose, without any restriction; or to remain in it, observing strict neutrality.

With full confidence in the honor and integrity of the inhabitants of the country, I invite the judges, alcaldes, and other civil officers, to retain their offices and to execute their functions as heretofore, that the public tranquillity may not be disturbed, at least, until the government of the territory can be more definitely arranged.

All persons holding titles of real estate, or in quiet possession of lands under color of right, shall have their titles and rights guaranteed to them. All churches, and the pro-

perty they contain, in possession of the clergy of California, shall continue in the same rights and possession they now enjoy.

All provisions and supplies of every kind, furnished by the inhabitants for the use of the United States' ships or troops, will be paid for at fair rates, and no private property will be taken for public use without just compensation at the moment.

(Signed.) JOHN D. SLOAT,
Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Naval forces in the Pacific Ocean.

U. S. Ship Savannah,
Harbor of Monterey, July 6, 1846.

XX.

General Santa Anna, Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army, to General Almonte, Minister of War of the Republic of Mexico:

Ayotla, 1 o'clock A. M.,
September 14, 1846.

Sir: I have received you favor of this date, acknowledging a decree issued by the supreme government of the nation, embracing a programme of the proceedings adopted to regulate a due celebration of the re-establishment of the constitution of 1824, the assumption by myself of the supreme Executive power, and the anniversary of the glorious cry of Dolores.

My satisfaction is extreme to observe the enthusiasm with which preparations are made to celebrate the two great blessings which have fallen upon this nation—her independence and her liberty—and I am penetrated with the deepest gratitude to find that my arrival at the capital will be made to contribute to the solemnities of so great an occasion. In

furtherance of this object I shall make my *entree* into that city to-morrow at midday, and desire, in contributing my share to the national jubilee, to observe such a course as may best accord with my duties to my country—beloved of my heart—and with the respect due to the sovereign will of the people.

I have been called by the voice of my fellow-citizens to exercise the office of commander-in-chief of the army of the republic. I was far from my native land when intelligence of this renewed confidence and of these new obligations imposed upon me by my country was brought to me, and I saw that the imminent dangers which surrounded her on all sides formed the chief motive for calling me to the head of the army. I now see a terrible contest with a perfidious and daring enemy impending over her, in which the Mexican republic must reconquer the insignia of her glory, and a fortunate issue if victorious, or disappear from the face of the earth if so unfortunate as to be defeated. I also see a treacherous faction raising its head from her bosom, which is calling up a form of government detested by the united nation, provoking a preferable submission to a foreign dominion; and I behold, at last, that after much vacillation, that nation has resolved to establish her right to act for herself, and to arrange such a form of government as best suits her wishes. All this I have observed, and turned a listening ear to the cry of my desolated country, satisfied that she really needed my weak services at so important a period. Hence I have come without hesitation or delay to place myself in subjection to her will; and, desirous to be perfectly understood, upon reaching my native soil I gave a full and public expression of my sentiments and principles. The reception which they met convinced me that I had not deceived myself, and I am now the more confirmed in them, not from having given them more consideration, but because they have found a general echo in the hearts of my fellow-citizens.

I come, then, to carry my views into operation, and in compliance with the mandate of my country. She calls me as commander-in-chief of the army; and in that capacity I stand ready to serve. The enemy occupies our harbors; he is despoiling us of the richest of our territories, and threatens us with his domination! I go, then, to the head of the Mexican army—an army the offspring (*eijo*) of a free people; and, joined with it, I will fulfill my utmost duty in opposing the enemies of my country. I will die fighting, or lead the valiant Mexicans to the enjoyment of a triumph to which they are alike entitled by justice, by their warlike character, and by the dignity and enthusiasm which they have preserved of a free nation. The war is a necessity of immediate importance; every day's delay is an age of infamy; I cannot recede from the position which the nation has assigned me: I must go forward, unless I would draw upon myself the censure due to ingratitude for the favors with which I have been overwhelmed by my fellow-citizens; or unless I would behold her humbled and suffering under a perpetuation of her misfortunes.

Your excellency will at once perceive how great an error I should commit in assuming the supreme magistracy, when my duty calls me to the field to fight against the enemies of the republic. I should disgrace myself, if, when called to the point of danger, I should spring to that of power. Neither my loyalty nor my honor requires the abandonment of interests so dear to me. The single motive of my heart is to offer my compatriots the sacrifice of that blood which yet runs in my veins. I wish them to know that I consecrate myself entirely to their service, as a soldier ought to do, and am only desirous further to be permitted to point out the course by which Mexico may attain the rank to which her destinies call her.

In marching against the enemy, and declining to accept of power, I give a proof of the sincerity of my sentiments; leaving the nation her own mistress, at liberty to dispose of

herself as she sees fit. The elections for members of Congress to form the constitution which the people wish to adopt are proceeding. That Congress will now soon convene, and while I shall be engaged in the conflict in armed defence of her independence, the nation will place such safeguards around her liberties as may best suit herself.

If I should permit myself for a single moment to take the reins of government the sincerity of my promises would be rendered questionable, and no confidence could be placed in them.

I am resolved that they shall not be falsified, for in their redemption I behold the general good, as well as my honor as a Mexican and a soldier. I cannot abandon this position. The existing government has pursued a course with which the nation has shown itself content, and I have no desire to subvert it by taking its place. I feel abundant pleasure in remaining where I am, and flatter myself that the nation will applaud my choice. I shall joyfully accept such tasks as she shall continue to impose upon me; and, while she is engaged in promoting the objects of civilization, I will brave every danger in supporting its benefits, even at the cost of my existence.

Will your excellency have the goodness to tender to the supreme government my sincere thanks for their kindness. I will personally repeat them to-morrow, for which purpose I propose to call at the palace. I shall there embrace my friends, and, hastily pressing them to my heart, bid them a tender farewell, and set out for the scene of war, to lend my aid to serve my country, or to perish amongst its ruins.

I beg to repeat to your excellency assurances of my continued and special esteem.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

XXI.

CIRCULAR

ADDRESSED BY THE MINISTER OF EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR RELATIONS TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL MEXICAN STATES.

Most Excellent Sir: On the 14th instant the port of Tampico was occupied by the American troops under the terms which you will see in the accompanying documents. This event, although expected, and giving no triumph to our enemies, since they only occupy what has been abandoned, aggravates nevertheless the situation of the republic; for, requiring new means of defence, it likewise imposes new duties and couples new sacrifices. Under these circumstances the government has thought proper to address itself to the nation; and, with this view, his excellency the General charged with the supreme executive power, has ordered this department to inform you officially of the true state of affairs.

The capitulation of Monterey having been disproved by the United States, the American army advanced on Saltillo, and having occupied it, is now directed towards San Luis Potosi. The invasion will probably extend to the state of Zacatecas, and there are grounds for believing that those of Sonora and Chihuahua will suffer a similar fate. At the same time the state of Durango is laid waste by savages, who, directed by American officers, have nearly reached the capital. Masters of a great part of New Leon and Tamaulipas, the invaders have extended their line by the occupation of Tampico, and are preparing perhaps to attempt a blow at Alvarado and Vera Cruz. In the state of Chiapas there are fears that the government of Guatemala, aided and urged by the United States, designs to invade our territory, attempting to take possession of Zoconusco, and even of Chiapas itself. Tobasco, finally, is blockaded, and in part subject to the invaders, who also occupy the states of California and New Mexico.

The picture which I have just sketched is certainly sad, but true; and you will see by it that the whole republic is menaced, that the peril is universal, and that the moment has consequently arrived in which any sacrifice should be esteemed small, for the day approaches which is to decide the existence of the nation. The government which commenced in August found the treasury exhausted, since the little which remained in it scarcely sufficed to put in march the first brigades of the army; it found the magazines empty, confidence destroyed, and public spirit dead, for the administration which had just passed away had caused to be lost the hope of triumph. At the cost of incessant wakefulness and sacrifices, which impartial history will some day appreciate, the government has succeeded, in less than four months, in organizing a respectable army, in raising everywhere the national guard, and in vividly exciting enthusiasm and the sacred love of the country. The "well deserving" General Santa Anna, who came at the call of the people, is occupied incessantly in the discipline of new corps, and in preparing the army for the approaching campaign; and the government, anxious to fulfil its duties, labors day and night to provide the necessary resources; but ordinary ones are not sufficient, and it is necessary to recur to those which, under ordinary circumstances, would be very justly condemned. The revenues being separated in consequence of the happy re-establishment of the federal constitution, the government of the Union now lacks the most productive part of the interior ones, and on account of the blockade realizes nothing of the large products of the maritime custom-houses, so that, while the expenses have extraordinarily increased, the means have extraordinarily diminished.

Thus, while laboring incessantly at the rapid establishment of the federal system, watching over public order, attending with ardor to the organization of the national guard, and amid the gravest cares required by the executive departments in critical epochs, that which the govern-

ment has preferred, that which has most occupied its time in this complication of business, has been to procure the necessary means to sustain the war; for without these the army would perish before seeing the enemy—and this idea is dreadful! The sovereign Congress will assemble in a few days; and the government, knowing by its own experience the distress caused by the want of means, wishes to divert it in part from that august assembly; and for this purpose has directed that you stimulate the inhabitants of your state to contribute to the prompt influence of the public funds in the manner that their patriotism may dictate, whether with donations in money, with cattle, grain, or munitions for the army; for, I repeat it, the hour of sacrifice has come.

How, in effect, are the rich proprietors benefited by their immense estates, if they are to be shared by the adventurers who form almost the whole of the invading army, and who are stimulated, not by glory, but by the desire of tasting the delights of our beautiful country? How are the rich merchants benefited by their shops, if those brilliant displays of luxury but serve to satiate the avarice of soldiers, who, with no other god than gold, and no other country but that which feeds them, come to our cities to enjoy pleasures which they had hardly dared to dream of? Far from the Government be the idea that there can be any Mexicans who look forward to the conveniences of peace while governed by the Americans; for such peace would be ignominious, and those conveniences an incessant remorse, since they would be the result of not having made, in time, the sacrifices now required by the defence of the nation.

In this war it is not merely the question to recover the usurped territory, but to hinder new usurpations, to save the honor of our own name, to defend the national independence. The question is, whether Mexico shall be, or cease to be, a people worthy of figuring in the register of free nations? Whether our religion, our language, our manners, shall be preserved? Whether, finally, the race of the north is to

domineer in the new world over the generous race of the south! This is the terrible question now to be decided; and between glory and shame there is no mean to choose. Either transmit to our children a name exalted by victory and a rich, great, and sovereign country, or we oblige them to curse our memory, and to water with tears of despair the cities governed by Americans, the districts depopulated by the tread of the savage.

That proud confederacy, whose government insults with its acts the ashes of Washington; that population which is composed in part of avaricious merchants, for whom all grand ideas, all generous thoughts, are subordinate to interest; those pretended democratic states who excommunicate all who have a single drop of the blood which the whites would consider as distinct from their own, and who traffic unworthily in the creatures of God, are likewise risking their existence in this war; for they have in their bosom a thousand conflicting elements. For there also are parties, there also are sensible men who acknowledge the justice of our cause; there also are feeling and honorable hearts who cannot tolerate the traffic in human flesh; and because the enormous expenses which they must defray have exhausted the treasury, and the day is not distant when contributions will become necessary; and your excellency knows that a single contribution will cause the people of the United States to rise; for where men calculate by figures, these, and not duty, are the rule of their actions.

This imminent peril is not concealed from the Americans; and now that they have seen the Mexican nation rise up to repel them, they appeal to calumny as an efficacious means of sowing discord and inspiring mistrust. With that ignoble end it has been given out that General Santa Anna is compromited to make peace, flattered with the hope of obtaining the control of the republic. But that idea cannot be sustained when it is considered that General Santa Anna need not be a traitor to become the first man of Mexico;

and that he need not travel that road of perfidy and shame to reach the temple of immortality. More easy and sure is his present path; and the government which knows his noble sentiments and is convinced of his loyalty and patriotism, repels in the face of the nation the infamous calumny, and protests in its name against an idea only intended to sow doubt, and thus reap indifference. Perhaps at other epochs peace might be possible; but after the first shot is fired, and the first drop of blood is shed, there can be no negotiation except in the case where that negotiation so insures our rights, and so leaves our honor unstained, that the civilized world shall respect and even our enemies esteem us. The sovereign Congress then, if it thinks proper, can make peace; the [executive] government neither can nor would do other than make war.

It is true that the nation, distracted by so many revolutions, is not now as powerful as when it took its place among sovereign states; but the hour has arrived to show to the eyes of Europe that, if its energies are weakened by adversity, its patriotism and its valor have never been crushed by fear, and that it is absolutely decided that its name shall be erased from the catalogue of nations by the edge of the American sword before subscribing its ignominy and infamy in a shameful treaty.

Such are the sentiments of the government; and in manifesting them to your excellency, with the assurance that such will be those of the state under your worthy charge, I reiterate my just regard and due consideration.

God and Liberty.

LAFRAGNA.

Mexico, November 27, 1846.

XXII.

To Col A. W. Doniphan, commanding American forces in the state of Chihuahua.

Head-quarters Bat. Mo. Light Artillery,
Camp near Chihuahua, Mexico, March 2, 1847.

Sir: I have the honor to report, that, agreeably to your instructions, I left the camp near Sanz, on the morning of the 28th ultimo, accompanied by my adjutant, Lieutenant L. D. Walker, and non-commissioned staff, and proceeded in advance to a position commanding a full view of the enemy's camp and entrenchments, situated about four miles distant from this point. The enemy was discovered to be in force, awaiting our approach, having occupied the ridge and neighboring heights about Sacramento.

Upon examination, it was ascertained that his entrenchments and redoubts occupied the brow of an elevation extending across the ridge between the Arroyo Seco and that of Sacramento—both of which, at this point, cross the valley from the elevated ridge of mountains in the rear of the village of Torreon, known by the name of the Sierre de Viclorianto, that of Nombreo de Dios on the east, and through which runs the Rio del Nombreo de Dios. This valley is about four miles in width, and entrenched by the enemy entirely across from mountain to mountain, the road to the city of Chihuahua running directly through its centre—and of necessity passing near to, and crossing the Rio Sacramento at the Rancho Sacramento, a strongly built and fortified house, with adjoining corrals, and at other enclosures, belonging to Angel Trias, the Governor of Chihuahua.

From observation, it was ascertained that the enemy had occupied the site between these hills, and that the batteries upon them were supported by infantry—his cavalry being in advanced positions, formed into three columns, between the

Arroyo Seco and our advance. During these observations, the enemy's advanced guard discovering my party, approached rapidly, with the evident intention of intercepting it, but being met by that of our troops which I had sent forward, it as rapidly retreated. At this time also, the three columns of the enemy's cavalry re-crossed the Arroyo Seco, and retired behind their entrenchments. I there approached within six hundred yards of the most advanced redoubt, from which point the enemy's formation was plainly discernable.

The entrenchments consisted of a line, with intervals composed of circular redoubts, from three to five hundred yards' interval, with entrenchments between each, covering batteries partly masked by cavalry. The redoubt nearest to my position contained two pieces of cannon, supported by several hundred infantry. The enemy's right and left were strong positions—the Cerro Frijoles on his right, and having high precipitous sides, with a redoubt commanding the surrounding country, and the pass leading towards Chihuahua, through the Arroyo Seco. The Cerro Sacramento on his left, consisting of a pile of immense volcanic rocks, surmounted by a battery, commanding the main road to Chihuahua, leading directly in front of the enemy's entrenchments;—crossing the Rio Sacramento at the rancho, directly under its fire, and also commanding the road from Terreon, immediately in its rear, the crossing of the main road over the Arroyo Seco, at the point from which my reconnoisance was made, laid directly under the fire of the batteries on the enemy's right, which rendered it necessary to ascertain the practicability of a route more distant from the enemy's entrenchments.

The passage was found to be practicable, with some little labor, and a point selected as the best for the passage of the artillery and wagons, and merchant trains. The whole point of the enemy's line of entrenchments appeared to be about two miles, and his force three thousand men. The artillery

being masked, the number and calibre of the cannon could not be estimated. Further, I have the honor to report, that the battalion of artillery under my command, composed of one hundred and ten men, and seven officers, with a battery of six pieces of artillery, were, on the morning of the battle, directed to form under the direction of Captain Weightman, between the two columns of merchants' and provision wagons, being thus masked from the view of the enemy.

In this column my troops continued the march to within fifteen hundred yards of the enemy's most advanced position; our direction was then changed to the right, and the column having crossed the Arroyo Seco, without reach of the enemy's fire, rapidly advanced towards the table land between the Seco and Sacramento. At this time the enemy was perceived advancing from his entrenchments, to prevent our seizing upon the heights; but by a rapid movement of the battery it was quickly drawn from its mask, and seizing upon a favorable position, protected in the rear by a mask, from the attack of a large body of the enemy's cavalry ascertained to be hanging on our rear, it was formed and at once opened fire upon the enemy's cavalry rapidly advancing upon us.

At this time his charging columns were about nine hundred yards distant, and the effect of our grape shot and shells was such as to break his ranks, and throw his cavalry into confusion. The enemy now rapidly deployed into line, bringing up his artillery from the entrenchments. During this time our line was preparing for a charge—my artillery advancing by hand and firing. The enemy now opened a heavy fire of cannon upon our line, mainly directed upon the battery, but with little effect. Lieutenant Dorn had his horse shot under him by a nine-pound ball, at this stage of the action, and several mules and oxen in the merchant wagons, in our rear, were wounded or killed, which, however, was the only damage done. The fire of our cannon at this time had such good effect as to dismount one of the enemy's

pieces, and completely to disperse his cavalry and drive him from his position, forcing him to again retire behind his entrenchments.

For a short time, the firing on either side now ceased, and the enemy appeared to be removing his cannon and wounded, whilst our line prepared to change position, and move towards the right, for the purpose of occupying a more advantageous ground. Our object being soon gained, the order to advance was given, and immediately after I was directed to send the section of howitzers to support a charge upon the enemy's left. I immediately ordered Captain R. H. Weightman to detach the section composed of two twelve-pound mountain howitzers, mounted upon carriages constructed especially for field prairie service, and drawn by two horses each. These were commanded by Lieutenants E. F. Chouteau and H. D. Evans, and manned by some twenty men, whose conduct in this action cannot be too much commended.

Captain Weightman charged at full gallop upon the enemy's left, preceded by Captain Reid and his company of horse, and after crossing a ravine some hundred and fifty yards from the enemy, he unlimbered the guns within fifty yards of the entrenchment and opened a destructive fire of canister into his ranks, which was warmly returned, but without effect. Captain Weightman again advanced upon the entrenchments, passing through it in the face of the enemy, and within a few feet of the ditches, and in the midst of cross fires from three directions, again opened his fire to the right and left with such effect, that, with a formidable charge of the cavalry and dismounted men of your own regiment and Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's escort, the enemy were driven from the breast-works on our right in great confusion.

At this time under a heavy cross fire from the battery of four six-pounders, under lieutenants Dorn, Kribben, and Labaume, upon the enemy's right, supported by Major Gilpin on the left, and the wagon train, escorted by two companies

of infantry under captains E. F. Glasgow and Skillman in the rear, Major Gilpin charged upon the enemy's centre and forced him from his entrenchments under a heavy fire of artillery and small arms. At the same time the fire of our own batteries was opened upon the enemy's extreme right, from which a continued fire had been kept up upon our line and the wagon train. Two of the enemy's guns were now soon dismounted on their right, that battery silenced, and the enemy dislodged from the redoubt on the Cerro Frijoles.

Perceiving a body of lancers forming for the purpose of outflanking our left and attacking the merchant train under Captain Glasgow, I again opened upon them a very destructive fire of grape and spherical case shot, which soon cleared the left of our line. The enemy, vacating his entrenchments and deserting his guns, was hotly pursued towards the mountains beyond Cerro Frijoles, and down Arroyo Seco la Sacramento, by both wings of the army under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, and Major Gilpin, and by Captain Weightman, with the section of howitzers. During this pursuit my officers repeatedly opened their fires upon the retreating enemy with great effect.

To cover this flight of the enemy's forces from the entrenched camp, the heaviest of his cannon had been taken from the entrenchments to Cerro Sacramento, and a heavy fire opened upon our pursuing forces and the wagons following in the rear. To silence this battery, I had the honor to anticipate your order to that effect by at once occupying the nearest of the enemy's entrenchments, 1,225 yards distant, and, notwithstanding the elevated position of the Mexican battery, giving him a plunging fire into my entrenchment, which was not defiled, and the greater range of his long nine-pounders, the first fire of our guns dismounted one of his largest pieces, and the fire was kept up with such briskness and precision of aim that the battery was soon silenced and the enemy seen precipitately retreating.

The fire was then continned upon the rancho Sacramento, and the enemy's ammunition and wagon-train, retreating upon the road to Chihuahua. By their fire the house and several wagons were rendered untenable and useless. By this time Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell had scaled the hill, followed by the section of howitzers under Captain Weightman, and the last position of the Mexican forces was taken possession of by our troops, thus leaving the American forces masters of the field. Having silenced the fire from Cerro Sacramento, one battery was removed into the plain at the rancho, where we gained the road, and were in pursuit of the enemy, when I received your order to return and encamp within the enemy's entrenchments for the night.

From the time of first opening my fire upon the Mexican cavalry, to the cessation of the firing upon the rancho and battery of Sacramento, was about three hours; and during the whole time of the action, I take the utmost pleasure in stating that every officer and man of my command did his duty with cheerfulness, coolness, and precision, which is sufficiently shown by the admirable effect produced by their fire, the great accuracy of their aim, their expedition and ingenuity in supplying deficiencies in the field during action, and the prompt management of their pieces—rendered still more remarkable from the fact that I had, during the fight, less than two-thirds the number of cannoniers generally required for the service of light artillery, and but four of the twelve artillery carriages belonging to my battery were harnessed to horses, the remaining eight carriages being harnessed to mules of the country. * * * *

With high respect, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

M. LEWIS CLARK,

Major Commanding Battalion Mo. Light Artillery.

XXIII.

[TRANSLATION.]

SUMMONS OF SANTA ANNA TO GENERAL TAYLOR.

You are surrounded by twenty thousand men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice, in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character, to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment when my flag of truce arrives in your camp.

With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration.

God and Liberty.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

Camp at Encantada, February 22, 1847.

To Gen. Z. TAYLOR, *commanding the forces of the U. S.*

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Near Buena Vista, February 22, 1847.

SIR: In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request.

With high respect, I am, sir, your obedient serv't,

Z. TAYLOR.

Major General U. S. Army commanding.

Senor General D. ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA,
Commander-in-Chief, La Encantada.

Return of the troops engaged in the action of the 22d and 23d February, 1847, at Buena Vista, commanded by Major General Z. Taylor.

XXIV.	For duty.																				Sick.		In arrest or confinement.		Commissioned Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Aggregate.
	No. of Companies.	Major General.	Brigadier Generals.	Assistant Adjutants General.	Inspectors General.	Aids de Camp.	Assistant Quartermaster General.	Quartermaster.	Assistant Quartermasters.	Commissaries.	Surgeons.	Assistant Surg'ns.	Paymasters.	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Adjutants.	Subalterns.	Non-commissioned officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, &c.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, &c.			
General Staff	.	1	2	2	2	3	1	.	5	1	.	4	4	.	.	3	1	.	3	10	.	.	.	.	31	10	41
Regiments or Corps.																											
1st dragoons	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	3	114	3	12	.	.	7	126	133
2d dragoons	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	3	72	.	.	.	.	4	72	76
3d artillery	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	5	142	.	1	.	.	7	143	150
4th artillery	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	4	106	.	6	.	.	5	112	117
Arkansas cavalry . .	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	.	3	.	19	392	7	51	.	4	32	447	479
Kentucky Cavalry . .	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	.	1	1	.	5	1	11	265	2	38	.	2	25	305	330
2d Kentucky foot . .	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	1	9	1	15	516	3	22	.	2	31	540	571
Mississippi riflemen .	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	1	5	1	21	328	1	9	.	.	31	337	368
Indiana brigade . . .	20	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	3	2	2	.	2	2	2	16	2	48	1036	7	127	.	.	90	1163	1253
1st Illinois foot . . .	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	8	1	18	519	2	25	.	5	31	549	580
2d do. do. . . .	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	7	1	19	496	4	40	.	4	33	540	573
Texas volunteers . .	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	3	53	.	4	.	.	4	57	61
McCulloch's spy comp'y	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	24	.	.	.	.	3	24	27
Grand aggregate . .	80	1	2	2	2	4	1	1	6	5	3	9	4	8	6	8	61	7	174	4073	29	335	1	17	334	4425	4759

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION AGUA NUEVA, MEXICO, March 6, 1847.

W. W. S. BLISS, Assistant Adjutant General.

Z. TAYLOR, Major General U. S. army commanding.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Army, in the action of the 22d and 23d February, 1847, at Buena Vista.

CORPS.	Killed.								Wounded.								Missing.		Total.	
	Colonels.	Lieut. Colonels.	Adjutants.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Commissioned Officers.	Aggregate.	Brigadier Generals.	Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Commissioned Officers.	Aggregate.	Non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, Musicians, Artificers and Privates.	Aggregate.
General staff	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	1	1	.	.	.	2	.	3	3	.	4	.	4
1st dragoons	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	6	1	7	.	1	6	7
2d dragoons	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	2	.	1	1	2
3d artillery	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	21	1	22	2	1	24	25
4th artillery	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	5	.	.	.	.	1	20	1	21	.	1	25	26
Mississippi riflemen	.	.	.	.	2	38	2	40	.	1	.	1	3	51	5	56	2	7	91	98
Kentucky cavalry	.	.	1	.	.	26	1	27	.	.	.	1	4	29	5	34	.	6	55	61
Arkansas cavalry	1	.	.	1	.	15	2	17	.	.	.	.	1	31	1	32	4	3	50	53
2d Kentucky foot	1	1	.	1	.	41	3	44	.	.	.	.	3	54	3	57	1	6	96	102
1st Illinois foot	1	.	.	1	1	26	3	29	.	.	.	.	2	16	2	18	.	5	42	47
2d Illinois foot	.	.	.	1	9	38	10	48	.	.	.	2	4	69	6	75	3	16	110	126
2d Indiana foot	.	.	.	2	1	29	3	32	.	.	.	2	6	63	8	71	4	11	96	107
3d Indiana foot	.	.	.	1	.	8	1	9	.	.	1	2	.	53	3	56	.	4	61	65
Company Texas volunteers	.	.	.	.	2	12	2	14	.	.	.	1	.	1	1	2	7	3	20	23
Grand aggregate	3		1	8	15	239	28	267	1	1	1	11	27	415	41	456	23	69	677	746

Head-quarters Army of Occupation, Agua Nueva, Mexico, March 6, 1847.

W. W. S. BLISS, Assistant Adjutant General.

Z. TAYLOR, Major General U. S. army commanding.

XXV.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Camp Washington, before Vera Cruz, March 22,1847.

THE undersigned, Major General Scott, General-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America, in addition to the close blockade of the coast and port of Vera Cruz, previously established by the squadron under Commodore Conner, of the navy of the said states, having now fully invested the said city with an overwhelming army, so as to render it impossible that its garrison should receive from without succor or reinforcement of any kind: and having caused to be established batteries, competent to the speedy reduction of the city, he, the undersigned, deems it due to the courtesies of war in like cases, as well as the rights of humanity, to summon his excellency, the governor and commander-in-chief of the city of Vera Cruz to surrender the same to the arms of the United States of America, present before the place.

The undersigned, anxious to spare the beautiful city of Vera Cruz from the imminent hazard of demolition—its gallant defenders from a useless effusion of blood, and its peaceful inhabitants—women and children inclusive—from the inevitable horrors of a triumphant assault, addresses this summons to the intelligence, the gallantry, and patriotism, no less than to the humanity of his excellency the governor and commander-in-chief of Vera Cruz.

The undersigned is not accurately informed whether both the city of Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa be under the command of his excellency, or whether each place has its own independent commander; but the undersigned, moved by the considerations adverted to above, may be willing to stipulate that, if the city should by capitulation be garrisoned by a part of his troops, no missile shall be fired

from within the city, or from its bastions or walls, upon the castle, unless the castle should previously fire upon the city.

The undersigned has the honor to tender to his distinguished opponent, his excellency, the governor and commander-in-chief of Vera Cruz, the assurance of the high respect and consideration of the undersigned.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

TRANSLATION.

THE undersigned, Commanding General of the free and sovereign state of Vera Cruz, has informed himself of the contents of the note which Major General Scott, general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, has addressed to him under date of to-day, demanding the surrender of this place and the castle of Ulloa; and, in answer, has to say, that the above-named fortress, as well as this place, depend on his authority; and it being his principal duty, in order to prove worthy of the confidence placed in him by the government of the nation, to defend both points at all cost, to effect which he counts upon the necessary elements, and will make it good to the last: therefore his excellency can commence his operations of war in the manner which he may consider most advantageous.

The undersigned has the honor to return to the General-in-chief of the forces of the United States the demonstrations of esteem he may be pleased to honor him with.

God and Liberty!

JUAN MORALES.

Vera Cruz, March 22, 1847.

To Major General SCOTT, *general-in-chief of the forces of the United States, situated in sight of this place.*

XXVI.

Articles of Capitulation of the City of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan D'Ulloa.

Puente de Hornos, *without the walls of Vera Cruz,* }
Saturday, March 27, 1847. }

Terms of capitulation agreed upon by the Commissioners, viz:

Generals W. J. Worth and G. J. Pillow, and Colonel J. G. Totten, chief engineer on the part of Major General Scott, general-in-chief of the armies of the United States; and Colonel Jose Gutierrez de Villanueva, lieutenant-colonel of engineers, Manuel Robles, and Colonel Pedro de Herrera, commissioners appointed by general of brigade Don Jose Juan Landero, commanding in chief Vera Cruz, the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, and their dependencies, for the surrender to the arms of the United States of the said forts, with their armaments, munitions of war, garrisons, and arms.

1. The whole garrison or garrisons to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant at 10 o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honors of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1st, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations, shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries; and immediately thereafter forts Santiago and Conception and the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa occupied by the forces of the United States.

4. The rank and file of the regular portion of the prisoners to be disposed of, after surrender and parole, as their general-in-chief may desire, and the irregular to be permitted to return to their homes; the officers, in regard to all arms and descriptions of force,

giving the usual parole that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

5. All the *materiel* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war) may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definitive treaty of peace.

6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city, with such medical officers and attendants and officers of the army as may be necessary to their care and treatment.

7. Absolute protection is solemnly guarantied to persons in the city, and property; and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guarantied.

(Signed in duplicate.)

W. J. WORTH, Brigadier-General,
GID. J. PILLOW, Brigadier-General,
JOS. G. TOTTEN, Colonel and Chief Engineer,
JOSE GUTIERREZ DE VILLANUEVA,
PEDRO MANUEL HERRERA,
MANUEL ROBLES.

Captain Aulick—appointed a commissioner by Commodore Perry on behalf of the navy, (the general-in-chief not being able, in consequence of the roughness of the sea, to communicate with the navy until after commissions had been exchanged,) and being present by General Scott's invitation, and concurring in the result and approving thereof—hereto affixes his name and signature.

J. H. AULICK, *Captain U. S. Navy.*

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF U. S. OF AMERICA,
Camp Washington, before Vera Cruz, March 27, 1847.

Approved and accepted.

WINFIELD SCOTT.
M. C. PERRY,
Commander-in-chief U. S. naval forces Gulf of Mexico.

Vera Cruz, Marzo 27, 1847.

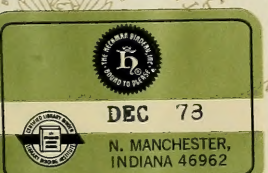
Approbad y acceptado.

JOSE JUAN DE LANDERO.

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